

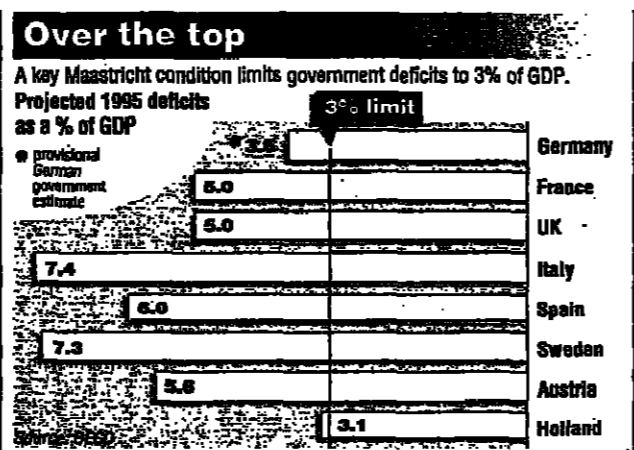


The timetable for EMU is in jeopardy as Europe's key axis wobbles on the road to meeting the conversion criteria

Fears grow that Germany may miss the single currency boat

Mark Milner EVEN in the darkest hours, supporters of European monetary union have always been able to draw comfort from one seemingly immutable fact: whenever it happened, Germany, linchpin of the whole affair, would be ready. Now that comfortable assumption is being challenged. German economic performance may not be able to deliver the Maastricht criteria by the end of 1997, leaving Luxembourg the only remaining racing certainty.

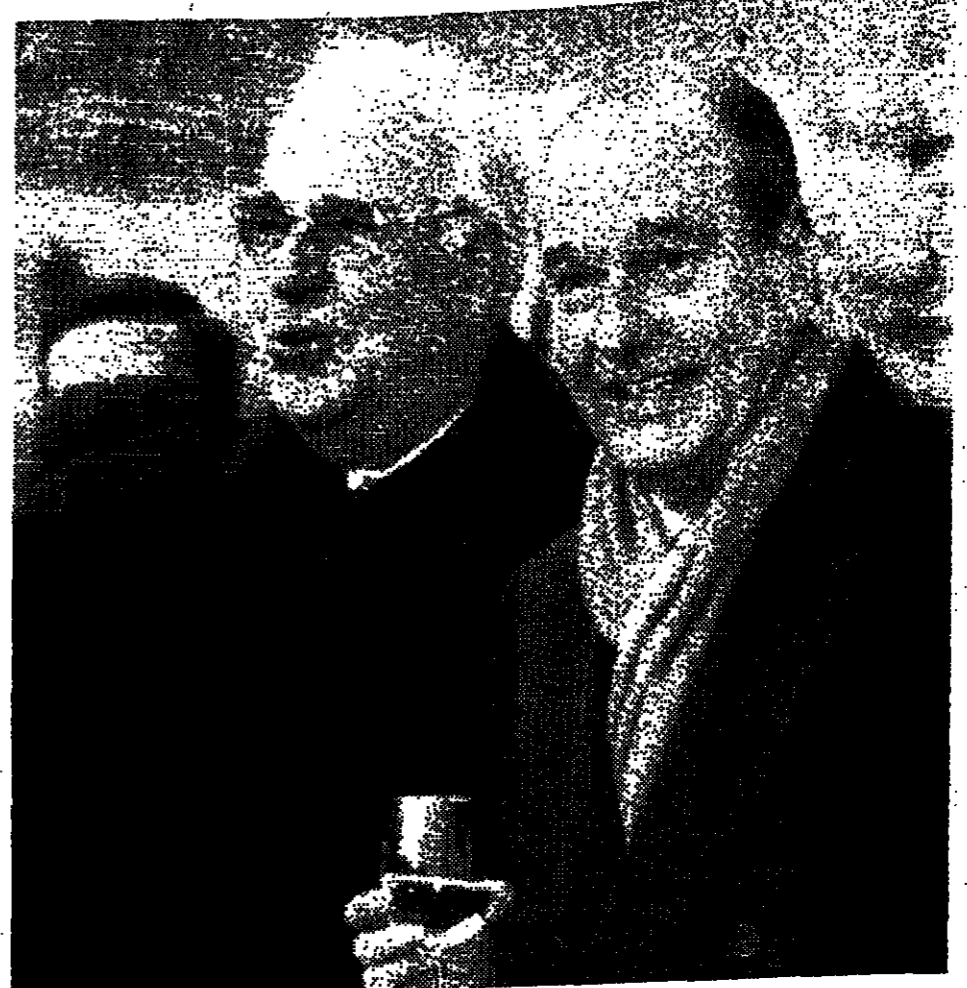
Settlement, when the going rate came in at 4.5 per cent. Coupled with the strength of the German mark and perennial complaints about the inflexibility of the labour market, the wage round made at least some German companies think twice about domestic investment plans. As a result, in part, Germany is going through what Holger Schmieding, senior economist at Merrill Lynch in Frankfurt, describes as a "mini-recession", with economic growth slowing to zero over the second half of last year and "not much to hope for" in the first three months of this year.



A key Maastricht condition limits government deficits to 3% of GDP. Projected 1996 deficits as a % of GDP. Germany 5.0, France 5.0, UK 3.1, Italy 3.1, Spain 7.3, Sweden 5.8, Austria 3.1, Holland 3.1. Mr Schmieding has an even more complex scenario. According to him, Germany may well get its deficit back under 3 per cent of GDP by 1997 but the borrowing run up in 1996 and 1997 could push accumulated government borrowing above 60 per cent of GDP - putting it in breach of another of the Maastricht rules. The decision as to which countries will be ready to sign up for monetary union will be taken in the spring of

1998 and German membership is certain to become a key issue in the federal elections that year. Mr Schmieding reckons German politicians will have a hard job selling the idea of giving up the German mark in favour of a single currency. It will be even harder if Germany does not meet the criteria.

Still, there will be some to whom doubts about EMU will come as a relief. Concern about the introduction of a single currency has promoted the Swiss franc into the role of Europe's strongest currency - not least because it will play no part in EMU. Such has been the demand that its international value soared to a record level last year. That has hit Swiss exporters and given the central bank a headache trying to either keep his pledge to cut the value. Delay to currency union may cast a pall over Paris and Bonn, but it will play well enough in Zurich.



Euro duo... Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac face a tough task in keeping European monetary union on track. PHOTOGRAPH: WINIFRED ROTHERMEL

Wife who killed husband walks free

Stuart Miller A DEVOTED 75-year-old wife who killed her seriously ill husband shortly before the couple's golden wedding anniversary walked free from the High Court in Edinburgh yesterday. Catherine Kerr was placed on probation for two years after she admitted the culpable homicide of her husband,

James, aged 79. She suffocated Mr Kerr with a pillow at their home in Erskine, Renfrewshire, last June before trying to commit suicide with a drugs overdose. The court heard that Mr Kerr, who had been married for 49 years and had two sons, had been a "devoted and loving couple". But after Mr Kerr had suffered a massive heart attack and had chronic kidney failure, the

burden of nursing him had become too much for his wife, who was suffering from depression "bordering on insanity". Her counsel, John Morris, said the case against Mrs Kerr, who was not well, and it was an increasingly intolerable burden.

For the Crown, Iain Bonomy, QC, said that although she was originally charged with murder, the Crown accepted Mrs Kerr's plea of culpable homicide because at the time of the killing she was suffering from diminished responsibility. The Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Ross, said he was satisfied that it would not be appropriate to impose a prison sentence. He placed Mrs Kerr on probation and ordered that she get treatment for her depressive illness.

The franc fort heads for a fall

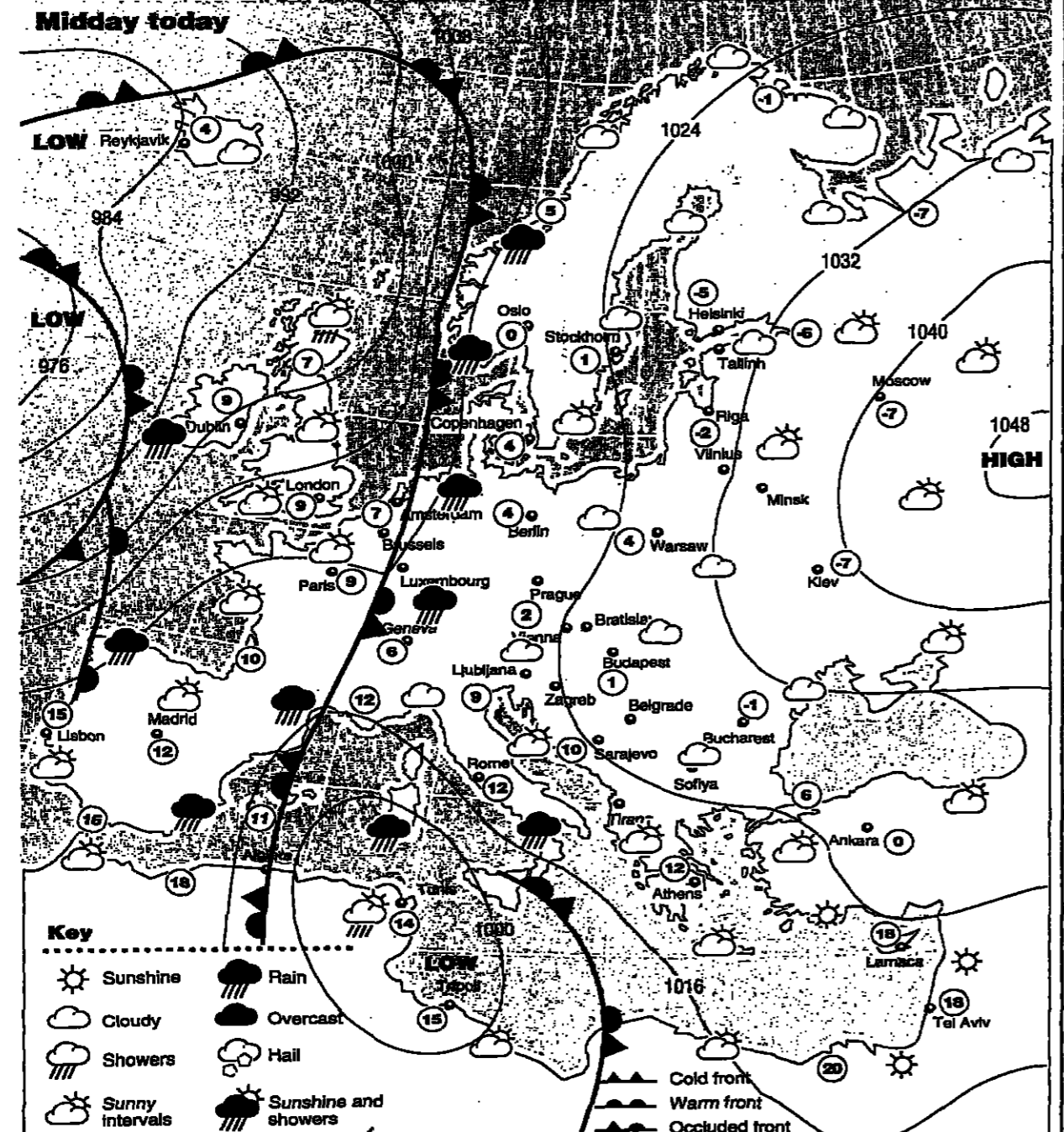
Larry Elliott FOR students of devaluation, events in France are shaping up nicely for the announcement of the franc's worth in terms of marks and something like a summit and with all hopes of monetary union in 1999. Pessimism about the chances of the franc emerging unscathed during the next few months has grown

recently as the size of the dilemma facing the Chirac administration has become more apparent. The markets believe that President Jacques Chirac can afford to keep the franc at 166.65 marks only if the government is determined to keep unemployment or maintain France's determination to be part of the monetary union hard core - but not both. As evidence, they point to France's unemployment rate of 11 per cent and rising, the

collapse in consumer confidence to a nine-year low that makes a mockery of the government's Panglossian growth forecasts, and the fact that the Christmas season was merely a taster for the spring strike season. For the time being, the franc is being supported by the weakness of the dollar, but this may bring only temporary relief. The government will be

faced with a stark choice between continued recession and devaluation, says Simon Briscoe at Nikko, the Japanese securities firm. He said: "We believe they will choose devaluation and delay the introduction of the single currency until the year 2002." It would be wrong, however, to assume that the timetable for a single currency will be given up without a fight.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities and Around the world. Tables listing weather forecasts for various cities and regions, including temperature, wind, and precipitation.

Television and radio - Saturday

Television and radio schedule for Saturday. Lists programs and times for channels like BBC 1, BBC 2, and BBC Radio.

Television and radio - Sunday

Television and radio schedule for Sunday. Lists programs and times for channels like BBC 1, BBC 2, and BBC Radio.

RUSS... close... chec... takeo... ban... Sinu...

كندا من الامم

# Russians close in on Chechens

James Meek in Sochi, Dagestan

There was a hopeful break in the Russian hostage crisis yesterday when Chechen fighters holding more than 100 hostages in the captured village of Pervomayskaya released some of them. The rebels offered to free 17 hostages, but eight decided to stay with friends and relatives.

It was the first sign of progress in the stand-off between the rebels and a huge force of Russian troops determined not to let them cross from Dagestan into Chechnya with a single hostage.



Russians had rejected this idea.

Another attempt to end the deadlock came in the Dagestani town of Khasavyurt, which has a large ethnic Chechen population. Local Chechens there raised two busloads of volunteers, both men and women, offering themselves in exchange for the hostages seized in the rebel raid on Kizlyar on Tuesday.

Zaini Abiyev, editor of Khasavyurt's Chechen language newspaper, acknowledged that even if the Russians agreed to the idea, the rebels would not consider Chechen civilians a reliable human shield against a Russian military machine which has shown little restraint in bombing Chechens in the past. "I'm 100 per cent sure that if the hostages were Chechens, the federal authorities will utterly destroy them."

In Sochi, Chechnya and Dagestan are much Russian territory as much as Chechnya. But with even Russians speaking of them as if they were citizens of different countries, the whole concept of the Russian Federation as a united entity is becoming dangerously confused and fragile.

The picture becomes even more tangled since the word "Dagestani" itself is misleading. The people of Dagestan do not call themselves Dagestanis but describe themselves as members of one of the territory's 36-odd ethnic minorities.

The ethnic group caught in the middle of the crisis in Dagestan's largest, the Avars, and Both Pervomayskaya and the village of Sovetskoye are Avar communities, created artificially in Soviet times.

The relationship between the Avars and their Chechen neighbours has always been close. Both are Muslim peoples and they fought side by side against the Russians in the 19th century.

But although the Avars despise Russian actions against Chechnya, they consider the Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev a clownish bandit and Chechen pretensions to independence absurd. They are also incensed over the latest rebel raid.

More Russian army trucks and armoured personnel carriers moved towards the village yesterday, taking up position about half a mile from it. Russian officials continue to say that they will not give in and, in an ominous sign that they were preparing to attack the rebels, troops evacuated women and children from the village of Sovetskoye, about three miles from Pervomayskaya, seized on Wednesday.

Earlier, Dagestani officials acting as intermediaries said the rebel leader, Salman Radeyev, had offered to release all the hostages if he was given safe passage just across the border instead of to the separatist-held village of Novogrozny in the Caucasus foothills, as originally demanded. But they said the

# Primakov asserts Russian power

David Hearst in Moscow

YEVGENY PRIMAKOV, the spy-master turned foreign minister, yesterday set out a tough list of priorities for the Russian foreign policy, designed to show that Russia still considered itself a world power.

He lost no time in spelling out his "negative attitude" to the central plank of American and European policy for Nato: the rapid expansion of the military alliance to include countries of eastern Europe formerly allied to the Soviet Union. Such a development was against Europe's interests and would be opposed by Russia, Mr Primakov stated.

The new foreign minister said at his first press conference: "Russia was and continues to be a great power," and hence demanded an "equal relationship" with Washington and the unpunished right to protect its interests in the territory of the former Soviet Union and beyond.

Russia's main foreign policy aim was to preserve the territorial integrity of the Federation, and end what he termed the "centrifugal" tendencies inside the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Mr Primakov said: "The sovereignty of the [former] republics of the USSR is irrevocable, but that does not mean that the re-integration tendencies in the sphere of the economy must not be developed."

He laid out what nationalists and communists called a "more balanced" approach to Russia's relationships with the West. The list of Mr Primakov's "important relationships" placed the United States, Europe and the European Union on a par with India, Japan, the Middle East and the Near East.

Mr Primakov was mea-

# Alex Duval Smith in Paris reports on the former president's meticulous preparations for his death Mitterrand 'chose his final day'

HE DID not know the hour of his impending death. But François Mitterrand did know the day it would come. He planned it meticulously.

According to revelations yesterday, the late French president, who died on Monday from prostate cancer, asked his doctor last Saturday how long he would live if he ceased taking medication.

Told he would survive a maximum of three days, the 79-year-old former president reportedly disconnected his drip the same day and refused all drugs except painkillers.

According to today's *Le Monde*, he then asked for the curtains to be drawn in his Paris study and telephoned his executor, media magnate André Rousselet.

Mitterrand shunned a typewriter or word processor in favour of an old-fashioned fountain pen. In blue ink on three sheets of writing paper, he detailed instructions for his funeral, which took place in his birthplace, Jarnac, on Thursday.

There would be no speeches and no wreaths, just one bouquet of teaseros and another of yellow and purple irises. And so it was.

Mitterrand, an agnostic fascinated by death and religion who read and wrote prodigiously, worked on his memoirs until the very end, his editor told the daily *France-Soir*.

"He worked on it until his last day alive, and he completed the task," the unnamed editor at the Odile Jacob publishing

house was quoted as saying. Odile Jacob has declined all official comment on the memoirs.

Mitterrand wanted to work on the project even on the morning of his death, but he did not feel well enough to do so and went

back to sleep. France-Soir said, citing unnamed associates. He never woke up.

Yesterday Roland Dumas, a former foreign minister and close friend revealed that, a few days before Mitterrand's death, the agnostic ex-president said: "now I have my philosophy."

deeply. "I would like to thank everyone who showed their affection for my husband."

Yesterday several French municipalities announced that they would rename streets and squares after the late president.

The Socialist mayor of Is-

sonduin, in central France, said he intended to name a street, a park and a square after the Socialist president.

He said: "The locations represent a link between culture and nature. This corresponds perfectly to Mitterrand's personality."

Mitterrand was reported to have become increasingly weak after spending Christmas by the Nile.

According to *Le Monde*, on December 23 he told a doctor travelling with him that "in one month I won't be here. I know that you cannot help me any more."

The details of his decline were published in the wake of his death. Last November, Frédéric Mitterrand, that his uncle had received poor treatment since his prostate cancer was diagnosed in 1981.

southern, in central France, said he intended to name a street, a park and a square after the Socialist president.



Mitterrand: refused all drugs except painkillers

# Dirty war dogs Spanish poll

Adela Gooch in Madrid

IT HAS taken 10 years for the skeletons of a "dirty war" fought against the Basque separatist group ETA in the mid 1960s to emerge. Now, after proving the key factor which forced the prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, to call an early election, they have become the issue most likely to make him lose it.

The scenario feared by Spain's Socialists in the run-up to polling day on March 3 is about to come true as the supreme court prepares to charge one of Mr Gonzalez's close associates in connection with the self-proclaimed anti-terrorist liberation group GAL, responsible for 27 murders of suspected ETA activists between 1983 and 1987.

The trial of José Barrionuevo, interior minister at the time, will coincide with the campaign, dragging the Socialists down and potentially catapulting the conservative opposition Popular Party to an electoral victory.

But the PP, the main beneficiary of a campaign by press and judiciary to investigate the GAL affair and its surrounding web of financial corruption, needs more than a narrow win if it is to form a stable government.

The results of local and regional elections last year showed that after 13 years of Socialist rule, voters are shifting towards the conservatives. The Socialist vote rests on groups such as the elderly and rural jobless who fear erosion of their state benefits.

But the PP, which can count on traditional conservatives, must persuade the young and voters in the centre that José María Aznar, a sober tax inspector, best represents their interests.

"I have no doubt that our time has come," said the leader preparing his third bid for office. Confident that the Socialists are now seen as a

reactionary establishment devoid of new ideas and soft on corruption, he is wooing the young with measures such as a pledge to cut military service from nine months to six.

But his economic policies make him vulnerable to attacks from Mr Gonzalez, who won the last election against the odds by claiming the PP would cut pensions.

Mr Aznar has qualified a pledge to reduce the top tax rate from 54 to 40 per cent saying his priority will be to cut the deficit to meet the criteria for European monetary union.

Economic analysts doubt his claim to be able to cut the deficit, by 3 per cent over the next three years, without making inroads into Spain's fledgling welfare state.

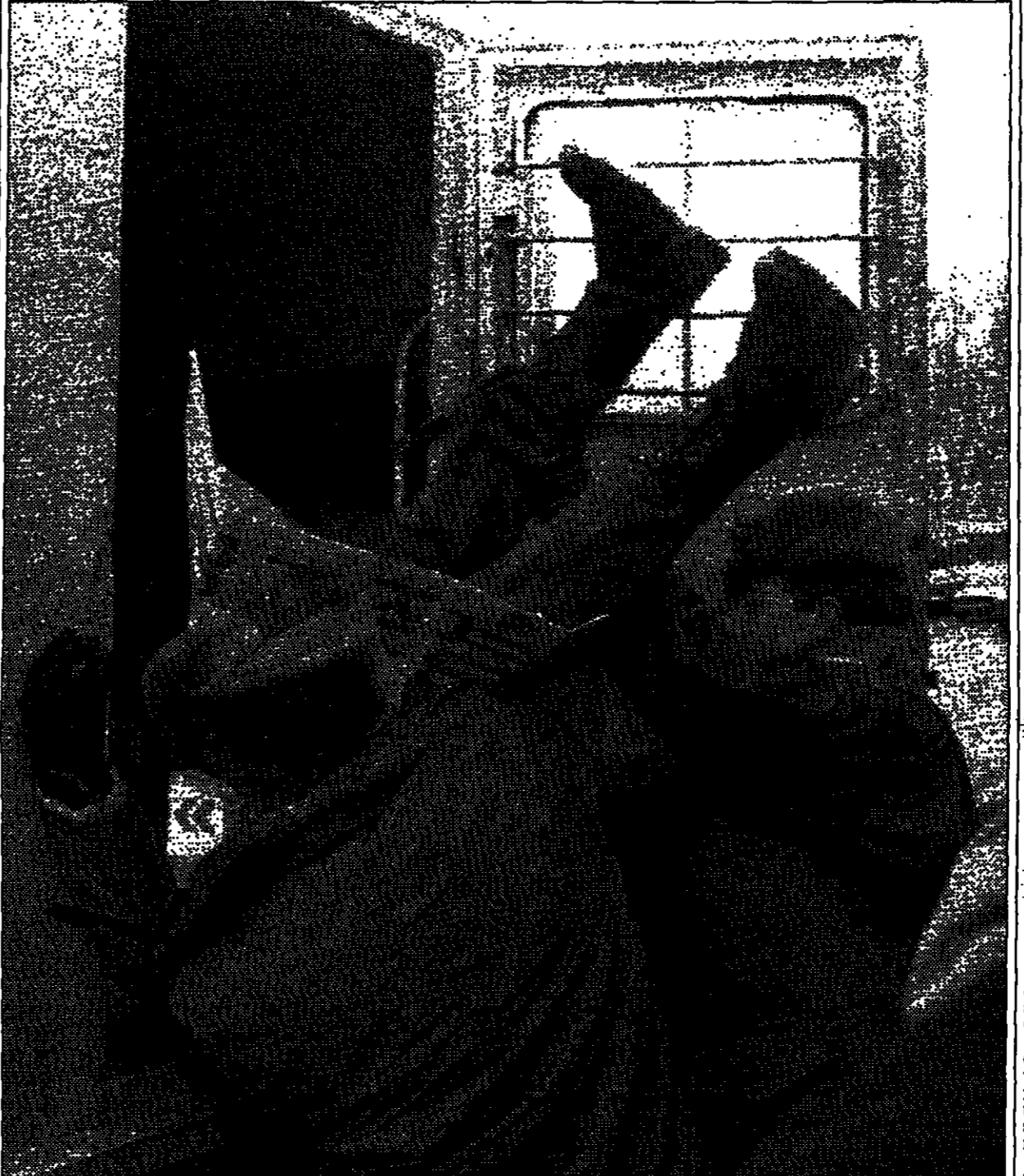
The confrontations in France have prompted Mr Aznar to announce that in office he would form a pact with the unions and employers.

The Socialists claim Mr Aznar's victory of the future is too pessimistic and have devised a defiant campaign slogan: "the positive view".

With regard to the GAL affair, though, their defiance may have gone too far for the public to stomach. Last November, Mr Gonzalez suffered a crushing blow when parliament stripped Mr Barrionuevo of his immunity. Yesterday the supreme court set bail of 15 million pesetas (\$30,000) and withdrew Mr Barrionuevo's passport, paving the way for prosecution on charges that he knew about the kidnapping of a French businessman.

Nevertheless, Mr Gonzalez is determined to give his close friend a prominent place on the parliamentary candidate lists. "I believe in José Barrionuevo's innocence," he said yesterday. "I will back our solidarity in support of him."

According to a recent poll, however, 70 per cent of his countrymen consider it a disgrace that Mr Barrionuevo should be on the Socialist party lists.



Arresting... A Ukrainian nationalist at a Kiev rally is bundled into a police van clutching a poster demanding the resignation of the defence minister over Ukraine's nuclear disarmament policy

## World news in brief

### Portugal heads for 'majority dictatorship'

A LEFTWING Socialist who made a remarkable comeback from electoral humiliation is the favourite to win tomorrow's presidential election in Portugal. Jorge Sampaio, a 56-year-old lawyer with a reputation as his country's political "Mr Nice Guy," has led in the opinion polls from the start, writes John Hooper.

But his rival, the former prime minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, who triumphed at a general election five years ago, is closing fast. He has increasingly resorted to an argument which has been

### Breaking in for freedom

Pope John Paul II's visit to the New Zealand island of Easter Island, yesterday by scaling the perimeter fence, and another 10 were arrested trying to break into the Japanese embassy.

In recent months 43 East Timorese have broken into embassies in unsuccessful attempts to win asylum. — AP.

### Ceausescu's hoard

The parliamentary inquiry into the Romanian revolution has been given evidence by a former prime minister, Theodor Stolojan, confirming allegations that the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu sailed away more than \$300 million before his overthrow and execution in 1989, the evening newspaper Evenimentul Zilei reported. — Reuter.

### Crime syndicate 'froze tons of dolphin heads'

POLICE in Taiwan have found six tons of dolphin heads in a freezer and suspect that a huge crime syndicate may have smuggled and killed them.

Police said they had arrested one man, Wu Wan-chiao, for operating the freezer in the eastern coastal county of Yulin, but Mr Wu has refused to say where the dolphins came from.

"We face this incident with a heavy heart and hope to intensify our efforts in this area in the future," an official from the cabinet's Council of Agriculture said.

Taiwan has been criticised in the past for failing to enforce international conservation laws that ban the killing of endangered animals. — Reuter.

### Master forger dies

The English master forger Eric Hebborn has died in Rome from heart injuries. Hospital officials said Hebborn, aged 61, who claimed to have painted in many of the world's leading galleries, was found lying in the street in the Trastevere district on Wednesday. — Reuter. Obituary, page 28

### Bubble trouble

Inspectors following up Israeli MF's complaints of feeling ill in the Knesset found "pretty high concentrations of carbon dioxide" in an environmental ministry spokesman said, adding: "It could be the air conditioning needs to be adjusted." — Reuter.

### Bobbing back

Jacques-Yves Cousteau's research ship Calypso, which sank in Singapore waters earlier this week, could be refloated as early as next week, the ship's agents said yesterday. — AP.

### No Japanese poll

The new Japanese prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, rejected opposition and press calls for a general election which greeted his first full day in office yesterday, saying that the country could not afford a break in government policies. — Reuter.

### More snow

A fresh storm is approaching the eastern seaboard of the United States, still recovering from the worst storm in decades, which left up to 30 inches of snow in some cities. — Reuter.

### Bomb surprise

About 600 masked and heavily armed members of the "historic wing" of the Front for the National Liberation of Corsica mounted a show of force in

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# Spy scandal fuels calls for purge

**DAVID BERESFORD**  
in Johannesburg on the need to reopen old wounds and (below) on an inspired choice of head for the new Truth Commission

**W**HEN photographs in the South African press last month showed the police chief leering at the camera from what appeared to be an electric chair, it was an occasion to recall the lesson from John 8:32: "The truth shall make you free." It was not San Quentin's "Old Sparky" that had Commissioner George Fivaz in its coils, but a lie-detector.

The scene was staged by Mr Fivaz, not to clear himself of any allegation of wrongdoing, but to smooth the way for other force commanders of more dubious reputation to be subjected to trial by electronic ordeal.

But nothing more has been heard or seen of the great purge by polygraph. The police public relations department this week said force commanders were re-assessing the financial costs.

Yet, it might be said that strapping security chiefs to electrodes is not only expensive, but redundant, since the day of the great lie-detector test is at hand. The long-awaited Truth Commission inquiring into atrocities and conspiracies of the apartheid era is to start its investigations at the end of this month.

The advent of the truth-telling exercise is drawing mixed feelings. It will not, as the genocide trials in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia are intended to do, satisfy the thirst for retribution among victims. Evidence to the commission (to the degree it is heard in public, which is discretionary) will not be incriminatory, even in cases where con-

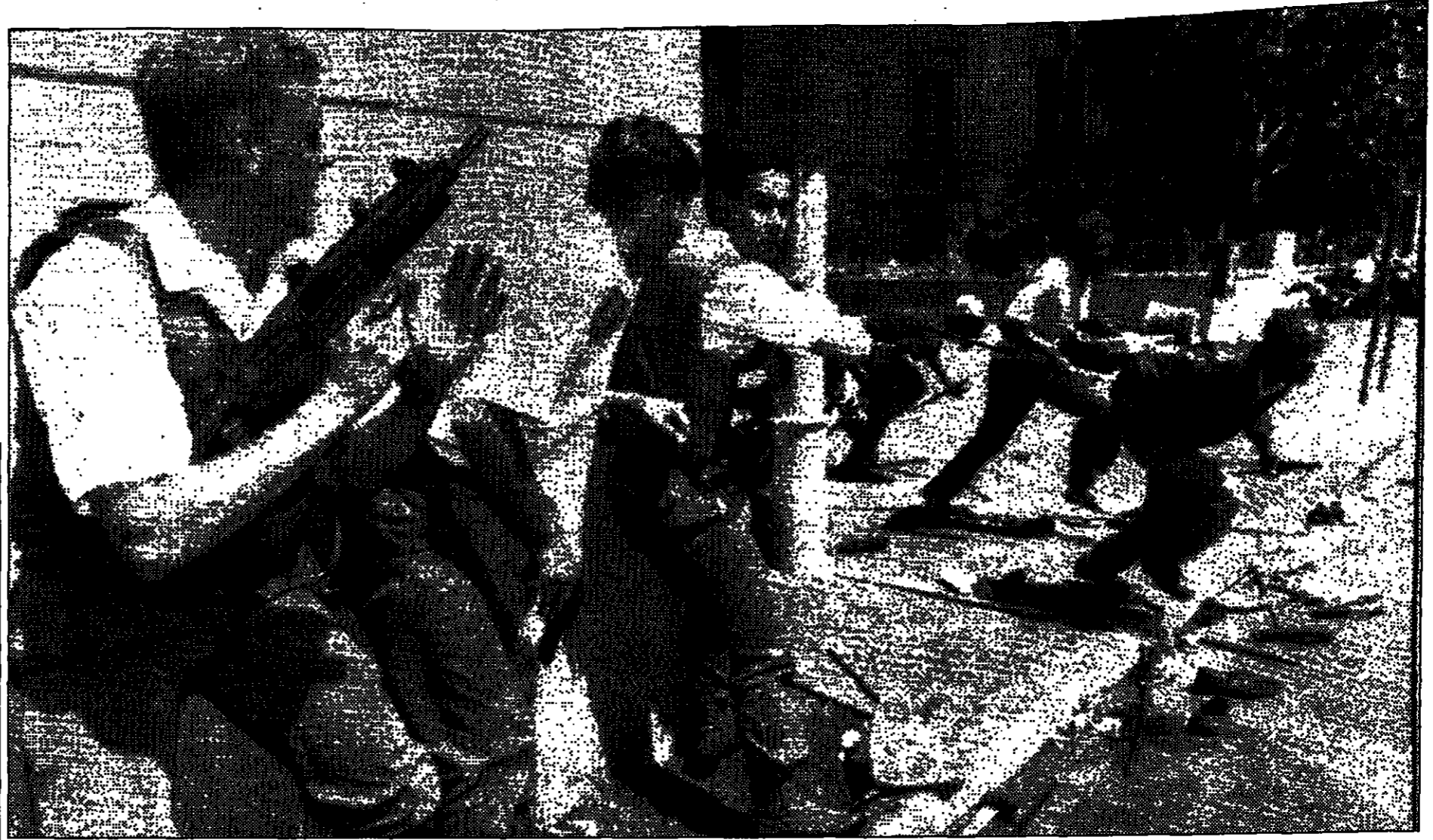
fessed crimes are judged too dastardly to merit amnesty. This has led to passionate denunciations of the exercise by Ntsiki Biko, the widow of Steve Biko, the murdered Black Consciousness leader, and Churchill Mxenge, the brother of Griffiths Mxenge, a solicitor also murdered by the security forces. They have formed a lobby group, the Association of Victims of Unresolved Apartheid Atrocities, threatening constitutional litigation to stop it.

Even civil rights lawyers who have devoted their careers to fighting the crimes of apartheid question what can be gained by re-opening wounds of the apartheid era. John Kane-Berman, head of the Institute of Race Relations, has dismissed the commission as a "Roman circus for the political classes".

But a new spy scandal offers fresh ammunition to those who believe the Truth Commission has a critical role to play in liberating the country from its past.

The scandal developed last week when the country's largest newspaper group, Independent Newspapers — owned by the Irish Tony O'Reilly — claimed to have uncovered evidence that the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) was spying on police commanders.

The reports quoted Mr Fivaz as confirming that several of his senior commanders had complained they were under surveillance by mysterious agents, with at least two officials having evidence that their telephones were being tapped. He also "confirmed" that a member of the NIA,



Before the massacre... Nine Inkatha members were killed during this protest outside ANC headquarters in 1994. Those responsible are not up for amnesty PHOTOGRAPH: PETER DEJONG

Dirk Coetzee, had confessed to one of his officers that he had been given instructions to place the police commanders under surveillance.

The allegations resulted in a predictable storm. The head of the NIA issued furious denials; the deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, announced a presidential commission to investigate the claims; and a parliamentary oversight committee demanded full reports from the intelligence chief.

Superficially, the scandal seemed a case of an intelligence agency exceeding its mandate. But there are grounds for suspecting a more complex story lies behind it.

The former captain Coetzee is famous as the man who blew the "hit squad scandal"

in the 1980s, disclosing the existence of government-sanctioned assassination units among the police. The disclosures led to the "Third Force scandal", revealing a conspiracy to wreck the constitutional settlement.

Capt Coetzee, who joined the African National Congress after his confessions and was recruited to the NIA, has been the target of efforts by his former police colleagues to exact retribution. He has survived at least two assassination attempts and smear tactics.

Is the latest spy scandal another such attempt to smear Capt Coetzee? He is alleged to have made the admission of spying on the police (which he denies) while being questioned about his responsi-

bility for the Mxenge murder. The investigating officer who questioned him is a former security policeman acting on the orders of Major General Karel "Sulker" Britz.

The general, who now heads the National Priority Crimes unit, is former commander of the notorious murder and robbery squads — units with tangential involvement in hit squad activities. Gen Britz has a spectacularly poor record in solving political crimes. One such crime he investigated and failed to solve was an attempt to assassinate Capt Coetzee.

Or is the NIA spying on the police? Certainly, the force has become so corrupt through the apartheid years — not only politically, but through involvement with

criminal syndicates — that the NIA would be justified in treating it as a potential threat to national security.

Whatever the truth, the continued presence of the "Old Guard" in the security forces is an albatross around the neck of South Africa's brave new society. The need for liberation from it is widely recognised — hence the project of polygraph-testing police commanders.

The Truth Commission has another contribution to make — not just in setting the historical record straight. The political carnage in KwaZulu appears to be a direct legacy of conspiracies hatched in the 1980s, whose exposure — notably the role of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi — could contribute much to the

resolution of the regional conflict.

The ANC side also has a contribution to make in cleansing the Augean stables, with regard to the fitness for office of key government officials. This is particularly true of atrocities committed against dissidents within the liberation movement during the years of exile.

The director general of the NIA, Sezakile Sigxhashe, headed a "tribunal" that had at least seven ANC members put to death after the Pongolo camp revolt in Angola, in 1984. Another senior member of the spy agency, Mthunzi Mthembu, was commander of the Quatro detention camp in Angola, where torture and "disappearances" appear to have been routine.

The success of the Truth Commission will obviously turn on its ability to elicit information. The last apartheid government carried out a massive purge of official security documentation before handing over.

F. W. de Klerk's predecessor, P. W. Botha, refuses to co-operate with him. The former police minister, Adriaan Vlok, has said he will testify. There are indications that the key former defence minister, Magnus Malan, panicked by evidence piling up in the murder prosecution against him and 10 former generals, may run to the commission to save himself from possible imprisonment. It all augurs well for a 20th-century demonstration of the liberatory effects of the truth.

## Man of faith leads quest to know

**O**NE problem facing the South African government in setting up the Truth Commission was that those best qualified by virtue of their commitment to democratic and libertarian principle had been victims of the security forces: the commission would investigate.

The man responsible for setting up the commission, the justice minister, Dullah Omar, was one such target. A gangster was once hired by the apartheid government to replace Mr Omar's heart tablets with poison.

A military assassination squad, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, tried to scare Archbishop Desmond Tutu off by planting a baboon's faeces at his front door. But he was an inspired, if obvious, choice as "Mr Truth" to chair the commission.

During apartheid, the archbishop was seen by critics — mistakenly — as something of a chaplain-general to the African National Congress. Since majority rule, the Nobel prize winner has demonstrated his independence, fiercely criticising ANC politicians for riding the "grave train".

A man of indubitable faith, he does not offer unquestioning service to the Almighty, much less Caesar. ("It is quite right to ask God, why," he assured survivors of the Christ-mas floods in KwaZulu-Natal.) These qualities make him very different from Richard Goldstone, the South African judge heading the Rwanda and former Yugoslavia genocide prosecutions, whose legalistic approach handicapped his efforts to uncover the "Third Force" conspiracy.

The other 16 commissioners appointed by President Mandela represent, if not the great, then at least a fair sample of the good in civil

society. They include psychologists and lawyers with human rights experience.

The commission will oversee three committees: one on "human rights violations", with the task of uncovering "the truth"; a second on amnesty; and a third investigating reparations.

The amnesty committee has probably the greatest potential for controversy, anticipated by the outside appointment (still to be made) of a judge as chairman.

Perpetrators of human rights violations between 1960 and December 5 1993 will be eligible for amnesty. This will exclude those responsible for

ria include the motivation of the offender (political or personal), the target (civilian or government) and the gravity of the act. The Norgaard approach is tolerant of "due obedience", contrary to Nuremberg, where orders were deemed no excuse.

The government is sinking substantial resources into the commission, at a time of extreme financial stringency in the public purse. It will conduct regional hearings, have a staff of at least 150, and run for two years at an anticipated cost of 220 million.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu: 'fiercely independent'

the Shell House killings — the massacre of Inkatha demonstrators by ANC security staff outside their headquarters — and the perpetrators of the rightwing bombing campaign on the eve of the April 1994 election. Perhaps most controversially, the assassins of the Communist Party leader, Chris Hani, will be up for consideration for an amnesty.

The test will be the Norgaard Principles — devised by Carl Aag Norgaard, president of the European Commission of Human Rights, to determine amnesty after Namibian independence. Crit-

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**It sounded gruesomely patronising on the face of it, not to say gross — a TV 'comedy' about Yorkshire miners setting up as male strippers, all posing pouches and giggles.**  
 Martin Wainwright

**Outlook page 15**

صكمان الراجل

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# Rifkind steers path through new China

The Foreign Secretary has ended his first trip to Beijing, where rapid modernisation is coupled with an ideology of 'nationalism and order', **Andrew Higgins** reports

**S**O DIZZY and disorientating are the changes in Beijing that even the street-wise chauffeurs of China's foreign affairs ministry lose their way. A three-day visit to China this week by the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, ended with a cavalcade of limousines receding — gears grinding and engines in reverse — through the back streets of the Chinese capital.

The motorcade had gone to the wrong address. Instead of taking Mr Rifkind, the British ambassador and assorted Foreign Office mandarins to Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office to discuss the final 18 months of British colonial rule, the cars pulled up outside a bureau responsible for Taiwan.

It is not just China's drivers who are confused. Everywhere in Beijing, evidence abounds of an extraordinary metamorphosis: glass and marble plazas sprouting along the Avenue of Eternal Peace, the world's biggest McDonalds just down Tiananmen Square; a floodlit golf driving range in what used to be a cabbage patch; and a new six-lane airport highway replacing a narrow strip of tarmac clogged with donkey carts.

Also brand new are the premises of the supreme court. And it was here, entirely untouched by any wind of change, that judges last month took 10 minutes to reject the appeal of an unemployed electrician called Wei Jingsheng against a 14-year sentence for subversion.

Mr Rifkind, making his first trip to China, struggled to keep his bearings. On the way from the airport, a modest Mercedes provided by Chinese authorities blew a tyre, a mishap that got the Foreign Secretary upgraded to a stretched Cadillac limo with mini-bar and television.

At a candle-lit banquet hosted by the British Chamber of Commerce, Mr Rifkind gushed about the marketing opportunities offered by China's double-digit growth: "Wasn't you coming with a country of 1.2 billion you don't need me to tell you the potential purchasing power of this nation?" Britain has invested more than \$4 billion in China — far more than any other European country.

cal system three years ago. Just before his meeting with President Jiang on Thursday, Mr Rifkind made an unscheduled stop in Tiananmen Square, scene of the 1989 student movement and now home to a giant digital clock counting down the seconds (more than 46 million) before China takes back Hong Kong. Noticeboards dotted across the gigantic expanse of paving stones warn visitors in English and Chinese to remain "solemn, silent and clean".

If China has any ideology these days it is this: nationalism and order. As a reminder of what disorder can mean, state-run television this week featured daily reports on the hostage seizure in southern Russia by Chechen rebels.

While Mr Rifkind made sure there were no television cameras in Tiananmen Square to record him watching the seconds tick away on Britain's last important colony, he made scant effort to disguise Britain's waning influence. Unlike previous ministers visiting Hong Kong and China, he made clear that the only real guarantee for the colony's future is China's self-interest.

"We cannot impose solutions upon them. I cannot suggest to you, nor would I wish to, that we have a physical power which is not available to us," he told Hong Kong legislators before travelling to Beijing. This, he said, was the "simple, unvarnished truth".

Despite China's refusal to budge on the legislative council or Mr Patten, the visit was, Mr Rifkind insisted, "positive". It clarified the right of foreigners to stay in Hong Kong after 1997, produced agreement on air services and opened the way for the colony to build a massive container terminal half the size of Rotterdam.

Britain and China also signed an agreement stipulating that only the Hong Kong government will be allowed to issue new passports after the colony returns to Chinese sovereignty.

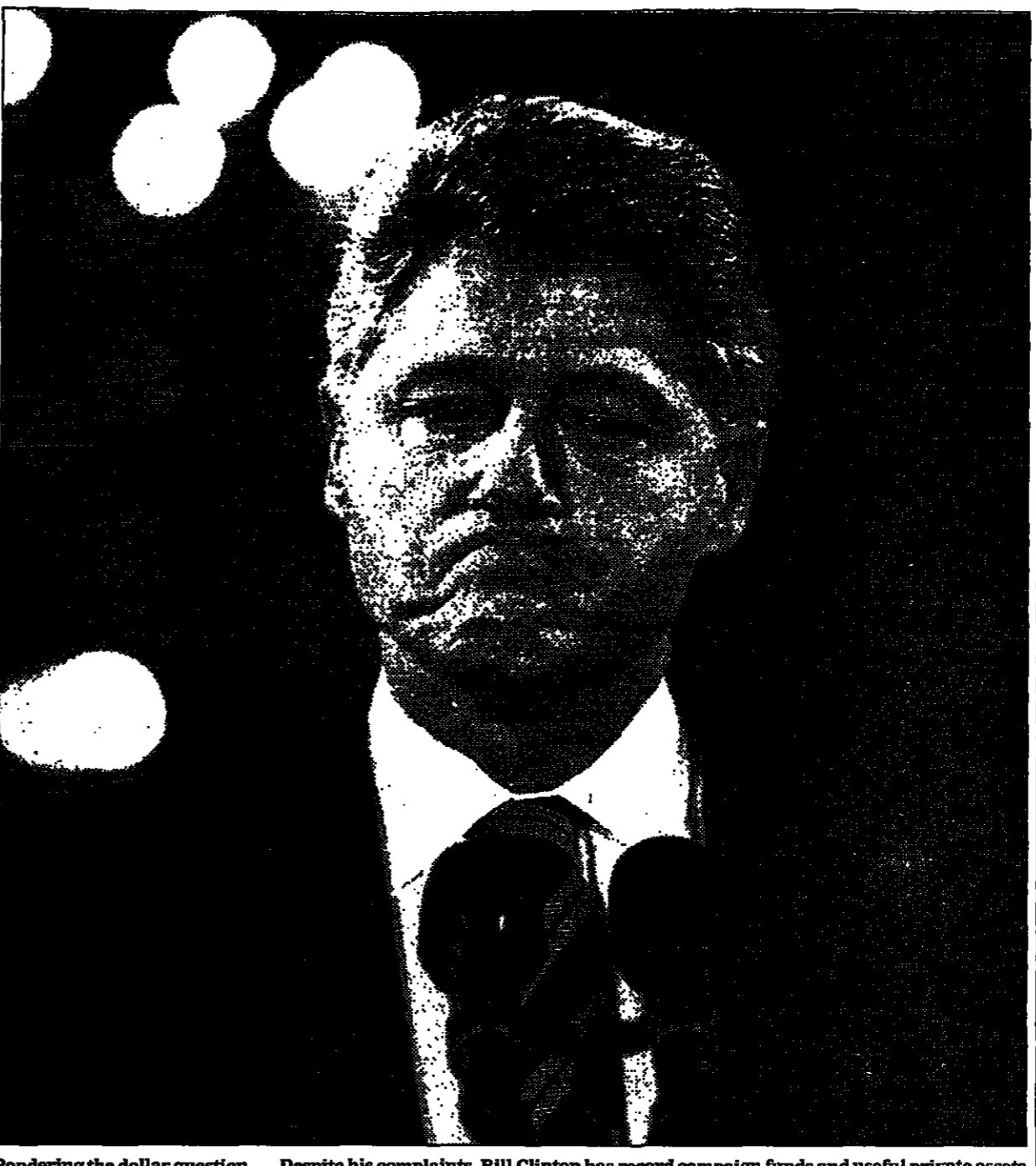
But detailed discussion is still needed on some of these issues. Speaking of foreign residents' future rights, Mr Chen said: "This was an exchange of views between the two foreign ministers, not a concrete negotiation." On the development of the port, Mr Chen referred to Beijing's "positive" attitude, adding: "We will try our best to promote this process." But there was not yet a formal agreement, he indicated.

Unburdened by diplomatic protocol, Mr Patten put things more bluntly in Hong Kong: "The question is this. Is China committed to real democratisation or is it committed to a sort of cardboard cut-out version? Is it committed to a counterfeit version?" China itself may not yet know.

*Martin Woolcott, page 14*



**On the way in from the airport, the modest Mercedes provided by the Chinese authorities blew a tyre, a mishap that got the Foreign Secretary upgraded to a stretch Cadillac limo with mini-bar and television.**



Pondering the dollar question... Despite his complaints, Bill Clinton has record campaign funds and useful private assets

# Clinton can still meet the bill

Martin Walker in Washington

**B**ill and Hillary Clinton are not officially bankrupt, nor are they ever likely to be, whatever the scale of the legal bills they face as they fight the Whitewater scandal and despite the president's public complaint of financial pressure this week.

Although the president's Legal Expense Trust has raised only \$865,000 so far, against legal fees estimated at \$2 million (£1.25 million) a year, the Clintons' personal lawyer David Kendall says the full bill will not be presented until the case is over.

In the past, all private presidential legal bills have been negotiated down to the precise figure raised by the legal defence fund.

The president's official income is modest by American standards — \$200,000 a year. But opportunities lie ahead. Publishing circles, on the basis of the \$6 million net for General Colin Powell's memoirs, reckon that the Clintons can each expect up to \$5 million in book contracts. And once they leave the White House they will be free of the legal restrictions which prevent their defence fund soliciting trade unions, corporations, party funds and the like.

# Lobbies fill contenders' cups

Martin Walker in Washington

**W**ALL STREET, the gun lobby and the Californian wine industry provide the biggest financial backers of the main candidates in the 1996 presidential race.

Bill Clinton, the Democrat incumbent, has received more than \$107,000 from the Goldman Sachs finance house alone. Senator Robert Dole, one of the main contenders for the Republican nomination, has received \$201,000 from the National Rifle Association, the main arm of the gun lobby, and another \$140,000 from the American Medical Association, in gratitude for his role in defeating the Clinton health reform plan.

The relationship between Senator Dole and the Gallo family began when he lobbied the Bureau of Alcohol,

Tobacco and Firearms to let them change the wording of the labels on their cheaper bottles from "bulk process" to "secondary fermentation before bottling".

The Gallo family gratitude to Mr Dole was reinforced in 1986 when he steered through a tax amendment which saved the family an estimated \$100 million in inheritance taxes. But just as political insurance, the family has also given \$50,000 to the Clinton re-election campaign.

The figures come from a new survey by the Centre for Public Integrity, published in book form yesterday as *The Buying of the President*. "It's a package deal be-

tween politicians and their backers. You are getting their patrons when you elect them," said Charles Lewis, director of the centre and author of the book. "To be perfectly blunt, it gives the impression that legislation is being bought and sold."

More than \$100 million has already been raised for this year's presidential race by the various candidates, led by President Clinton, whose \$26 million is the largest amount ever raised by an incumbent president this early in the campaigning season.

Campaigns & Elections, the house journal of political consultants, reckons that elections at all levels — from local

sheriff and school board up to the White House — are now a national industry with a turnover of \$3 billion in every two-year election cycle.

The donation gap between the Big Three — Clinton, Dole and Gramm — and the Republican also-rans is wide. The highest donation to the former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander was \$63,000 from a home town property company. The largest donation to the rightwing firebrand Pat Buchanan was \$10,000 from a Nebraska theme park family, and Senator Richard Lugar's most generous backers were the Eli Lilly pharmaceutical company, based in his home state Indiana.

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Portrait of

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

by Francisco de GOYA

The police poster appealing for the painting's return



Sir Philip Hendy: 'Bunton did not steal the picture'



Kempton Bunton: jailed, but another man confessed



It was the Mirror wot done it



The Goya portrait of the Duke of Wellington, stolen from the National Gallery weeks after it was bought for the nation

Files reveal innocent man was jailed for stealing Goya painting from the National Gallery in 1961

Peter Lennon and Edward Pilkington

DOCUMENTS released this month by the National Gallery under the 30 years rule have confirmed that a man was wrongly jailed in 1961 for the theft of a Goya painting, even though the authorities suspected he was innocent.

for £140,000 by an American oil magnate who threatened to take it out of the country. After a mass appeal the National Gallery purchased it from him for the same amount, with money donated by a charity and the Macmillan government.

would mean establishing the principle "that any adventurous person had only to remove a picture from our walls to be able successfully to demand that money be given to a charity of his nomination".

with stealing the painting as the law then said a person could only be convicted of theft if the stolen object was never recovered. The loophole was closed in the 1968 Theft Act which made stealing art works on exhibition — whether or not they were retrieved — an offence.

the picture. In court he gave the wrong day and the wrong hour... and contradictory accounts of how he disposed of the frame, and neither can have been true.

concession was made after another man confessed to the crime. However, no move was made to clear the name of Mr Bunton, who has since died.

Ulster's land of myth

David Sharrock on a new airbrushed view of IRA Bandit Country

IT IS not a map that a British Army squadie spending his third wet night in a ditch in "Bandit Country" would recognise, but judging from the beautiful hand-drawn chart inside a new tourist brochure, South Armagh is shaking off its IRA-heartland image.

topography and folksy sketch maps, it invokes a landscape and people steeped in Celtic mythology, where the ugliness of the last 25 years has been airbrushed away.

thorn is the most difficult way of moving across country but in this part of the world it is the safest way to travel. By making our own holes we lessen the risk of running into a booby trap.

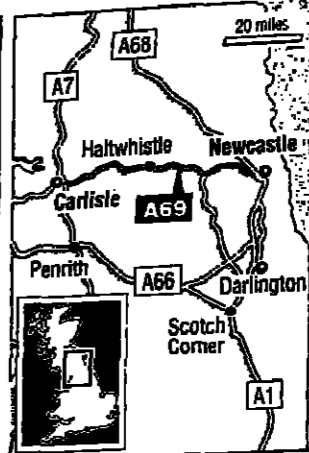
Army considers code on sexual harassment if gay ban is lifted

continued from page 1... argument marshals arguments for the ban, but says if it were overturned it could require costly compensation and reinstatement of personnel.

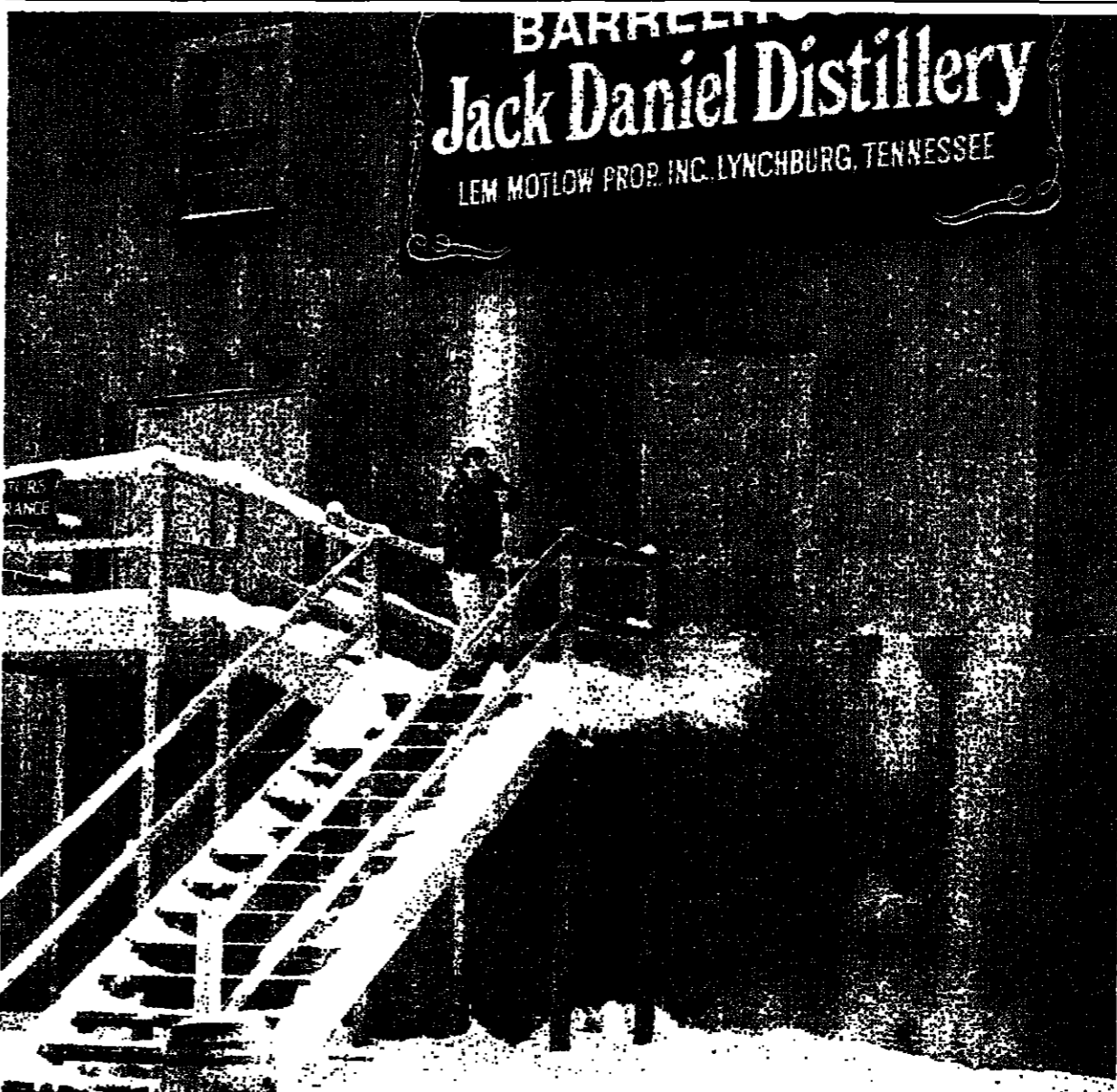
Siemens to pull out of road tolling

Nicholas Bannister and Keith Harper

SIEMENS, the German electrical engineering group, has pulled out of British electronic road tolling trials because it believes the Government has lost the political will to introduce a system.



came as Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, announced that Britain's first privately operated road — between Newcastle upon Tyne and Carlisle — is to be run by a British-Italian consortium called Roadlink.



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JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY

To umpire alongside Dickie Bird was to exist in his world of permanent crisis, but at his height many regarded it as a privilege. The former Indian Test umpire, Swarup Krishan, once told Bird: "I have often prayed about umpiring with you."

David Hopps page 9

سكيات الامم

OFFICIALS

In their own words: Newbury bypass campaigners explain why they are taking action

BILL McMahon, aged 54, and Mary O'Brien, 56, common-law husband and wife, who run a snackbar in Hove, East Sussex. "We had never gone on a protest at all until last year, then we saw what was happening in front of our noses..."



see the chainsaws. We admit we don't know much about the background, but we will soon find that out by asking people. Surely the Government can come up with some alternative..."

DANNY Broadley, aged 55, from Somerset, has been living in a treehouse on the bypass route since construction work began. His father used to be head lecturer at a college of further education.



your means. There's a great spirit here. People help each other out. "I've been doing environmental stuff for about two to three years for Greenpeace. The chain of information for environmental activists is now so good in this country that you can virtually find out anything you want."

"I don't think £101 million should be spent on a road which they say will ease pollution. Once the road is built, there'll be no trees left to take the pollution away. "We have got to a point in 1996 when human beings want to survive. Everyone's aim in life, I think, is to survive, but we are cutting down the things that will keep us alive. Why should our children wake up one day and have bad air quality just because some bastard in the Department of Transport wants some money in his pocket..."

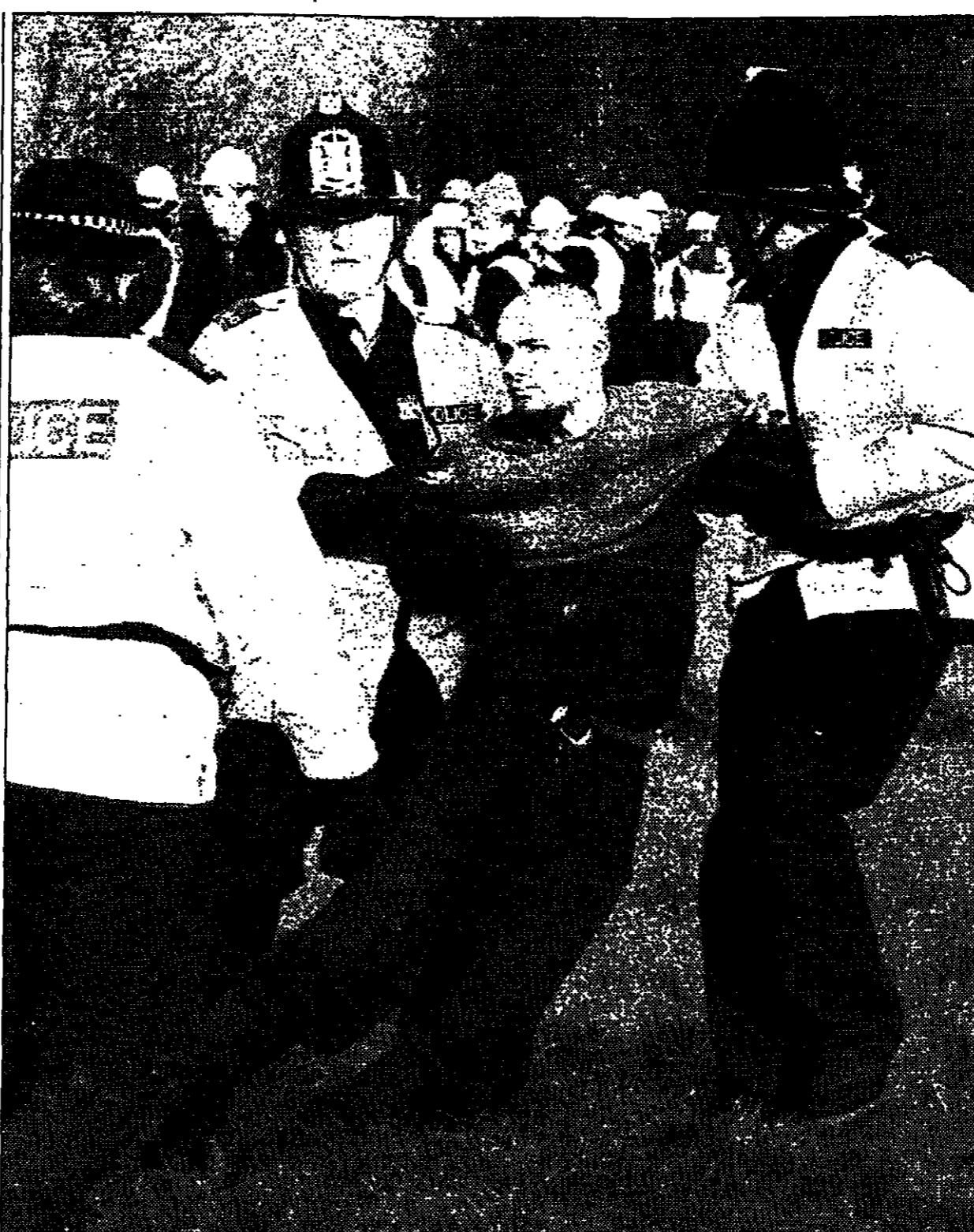
JILL Eisele, aged 44, from Newbury, is a teacher, married with two children. "I'm livid about it. The road won't work. We now have recognition among all spheres of politicians that building new roads does not solve problems. "Also, there has never been a proper transport debate — we only had one inquiry, in 1988. That's before Twyford Down happened, before the M25. At that time we were not allowed to talk about whether we could have a freight or rail link. "Since then, there has been no environmental assessment of the roads impact. The National Rivers Authority don't even want this route. It is an exceptionally beautiful part of the countryside. "The fight is now also about democracy. It is about whether we have a right to protest. This is about the suffragettes and the Magna Carta and the poll tax riots. "When the Government is acting against its responsibilities you have to rise up against it. It's civil disobedience. I'm sorry that the police have been politically pushed to becoming partisan. "I have always been a Tory voter but I would not vote for them any more."



SARAH North, aged 26, is studying for an MSc in conservation at University College, London. "I've been following Newbury in the national press and felt motivated enough to get involved. It's the first time I have been moved enough to go to a protest. "I think the road is unnecessary. Alternatives to the traffic problems here have not been considered properly. I think the public in Newbury would be sympathetic to alternative schemes. They are being presented with the false choice: bypass or nothing. "This road will only take 10 per cent of traffic from the streets of Newbury. It is not going to solve the traffic problems. It is a short-term thing. "People say the local people are for the road, but we have had tremendous support from them. I arrived two days ago with friends from my course and we are staying on local people's land. "I think me and my friends will be coming up for a few days every week for the foreseeable future. I also think we will try and do a UCL survey to find out what local people's attitudes are to alternatives to the bypass."



"BOB", not his real name, is a 15-year-old schoolboy from a village near Warwick. His father is a builder. "I got down here on Thursday on my own. It's the first demonstration I have been on. I did it just to get away. It seemed like somewhere to go. "I was seeing Newbury on the telly and in the papers all the time. My entire school thinks they are destroying it. "It's amazing here. It's so friendly. At home, people like me get the wind out of them just for what you look like. My mum will probably send somebody after me and then I will probably go back." Interviewer: Alex Bellis



A protester is dragged away as contractors try to get to work on the fourth day of the protest. PHOTOGRAPH: MARTYN HAYHOW

Arrests as police step up response at bypass site

Alex Bellis POLICE flexed their muscles yesterday in the battle over the Newbury bypass, arresting dozens of anti-road protesters under the Criminal Justice Act and sparking a fight over civil rights as well as the environment. The protesters were outwitted during the morning by fast-moving "hit-and-run chainsaw crews" which reached two unoccupied areas on the nine-mile bypass route and started felling trees. When protesters reached the sites, they were warned by senior police officers that they may be committing aggravated trespass. The contractors were prevented from felling more trees at one site by people climbing them. But at the other site, a mile away, they cleared about 100 metres of trees along an old railway line. There were scuffles at both places. Thames Valley police said there were 16 arrests at the first site and 18 at the second. Last night nine people had been taken to Basingstoke police station and 25 were in custody at Newbury. The spokesman said most of the arrests were for alleged aggravated trespass — the criminal version of the civil offence of trespass — introduced last year in the Criminal Justice Act. Pressure had been mounting on police to change their tactics after protesters stopped the first three days of construction work on the £100 million bypass. Keith Lock, Liberal Democrat leader of Newbury council, had called the project a shambles. Simon Festing, of Friends of the Earth, said: "The police don't want to take sides but they are being politically leaned on. John Watts, the roads minister, was on the radio this morning saying the protesters were a bunch of anarchists and that the police should intervene more. That is what they appear to have done. "The protesters were totally peaceful. It was the police who got stuck in"

the large number of arrests, and insisted they were still bipartisan. Mr Lock said he was pleased with the day's events: "The police have to uphold the law, and if someone is breaking it they have to act." The protests at both sites were the largest and most confrontational yet, with about 100 demonstrators and a similar number of police and security guards. At least two people were injured. Before the chainsaw crews had gone home the protesters were in the trees building walkways between them, making it even more difficult for the contractors when they return. The offence of aggravated trespass was introduced by the Government primarily to deal with hunt saboteurs, but it has been used to a limited extent in other recent road protests. A cornerstone of the act, it has been consistently attacked by civil rights groups as undemocratic. John Wadham, director of Liberty, said: "Peaceful protest is a fundamental right which is seriously undermined by the Criminal Justice Act. "The use by the police of these powers shows how fragile those rights are without a Bill of Rights to protect them."

of the Earth, said: "The police don't want to take sides but they are being politically leaned on. John Watts, the roads minister, was on the radio this morning saying the protesters were a bunch of anarchists and that the police should intervene more. That is what they appear to have done. "The protesters were totally peaceful. It was the police who got stuck in"

Appeal 'knocks hole in law to outlaw protest'

Owen Bowcott WIDE-RANGING police powers, introduced by the Criminal Justice Act to outlaw selected public protests, may prove to be unenforceable following an appeal over rights of way near Stonehenge. The Crown Prosecution Service is expected to pursue the case against Margaret Jones and Richard Lloyd in order to uphold the offence of "trespassory assembly". The powers were drafted by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to bolster the police in confrontations with hunt saboteurs, new age travellers and demonstrators. Dr Jones, aged 46, a lecturer at the University of the West of England, and Mr Lloyd, aged 25, a student, were arrested on a footpath outside Stonehenge on June 1 last year while a police-enforced four-mile exclusion order was in operation. They were the first people to be convicted under section

70 of the act, which deems 20 or more people gathering on a public highway in an exclusion zone to be guilty of trespassory assembly. But this month their conviction was overturned on appeal at Salisbury crown court. Kier Starmer, counsel for the two, basing his arguments on a 19th century row over grouse moors, argued that since they were standing on a footpath they could not be deemed to be trespassing even under the terms of the exclusion order. "A peaceful, non-obstructive gathering on a highway does not exceed reasonable and usual use of the highway," he claimed. "The question of numbers present only arises if it can be established that each of the two appellants was trespassing. There is no evidence to that effect." Judge MacLaren Webster, sitting with two magistrates, said the court had to be sure public rights of access had been exceeded in order to establish a trespassory assembly. "We do not find that

there is that evidence," he ruled. The civil rights group Liberty claims there have been numerous arrests under the act, but barely a handful of successful prosecutions. John Wadham, the legal director, said: "The [act] has been shown to be ill-considered, poorly drafted and unworkable." The Home Office insisted the police had numerous other powers to deal with protesters. But the Crown Prosecution Service is waiting to examine transcripts of the hearing. A spokesman said: "If we think it would be helpful to get the law clarified, then we will have to appeal to a higher court." Dr Jones said her victory rendered part of the act inoperable. "We are delighted. It knocks a substantial hole in one section of the act. "It makes it virtually impossible for the police to use section 70. They will have to fall back on charging people with obstruction or breaches of the peace."

How to get a winning hand in Brussels

Paul Brown, Environment Correspondent

TWO bruising decades of fighting Britain's corner in the European Union have prompted Whitehall to issue Brussels-bound civil servants with a detailed guide to survival — Sir Humphrey's tips for coping on the Continent, so to speak. The guide — written, as it happens, by a British Eurocrat called James Humphreys — warns of "thieves and brigands who lurk in the dark of the forest". It advises negotiators to keep a poker face and never to deal from the bottom of the pack — "they would take it personally". Published by the Department of the Environment for circulation in Whitehall only, the 250-page guide also contains some adult advice on the strength of Belgian beers, the occupational hazards of lunch, and what to do if stuck in Brussels over the weekend. Mr Humphreys has just been appointed to the private office of the Environment Minister, James Clappison. Previously he was an environment attaché in Brussels, where he apparently discovered just how many votes there are in Finland, what is the function of jurist-linguists, and which restaurants sell the best moules frites. Despite some of the weird and often difficult experiences recounted in the guide, Mr Humphreys comments: "As civil servants who are also negotiators on behalf of UK interest, we have to use the [European Union] system to our best advantage; this means we must also accept a measure of responsibility for the outcome. "We cannot heap blame on 'Brussels' for poorly drafted

legislation unless we examine critically our own part in the decision-making process." Most of the book is devoted to unravelling jargon, explaining what European institutions is responsible for which tasks, who to circulate with reports, and how to get the UK's position across and win the arguments. Advice is given on negotiations, which should be played as in a game of cards. "Keep a poker face. Negotiations have a natural, unspoken balance, and the search for compromise is supposed to avoid winners and losers. "If a point made and secured by another delegation helps the UK, don't show this in a meeting by smiling or thanking that delegation; better to pocket the advantage without comment of any sort and continue to pursue other UK points. Others will assume the UK still needs to be 'given' something to balance the deal." And in general: "Never deal from the bottom of the pack. "Negotiations provide opportunities for double-dealing and other tricks, but beware. If you deliberately mislead another delegation or renege on a deal, they would take it personally and would do all in their power to take revenge on you and the UK as a whole." At a time when Europhobia is prevalent in the Cabinet, Mr Humphreys' boss, the Environment Secretary, John Gummer, makes his own enthusiasm for the EU clear in the foreword. "Europe is not them; it is us. Perhaps this idea sums up how we should best approach the European Union: not as an alien body, but as part of our own administrative machinery... "The union is a shared endeavour. It has to be."

How to be Eurocrat wheeler-dealer

Negotiating: "You may be able to use brilliant oratory and negotiating skills to win over converts or reduce opposition. But if this is not enough, you will come down to horse trading..." Lunch: "Ministers eat separately from officials, and this gives the potential for traps and ambushes. No item can

be voted on over lunch." Confidentiality: "Brussels leaks like a sieve..." Informals: "Ministers' meetings away from Brussels where they can bring wives or partners." Despite agreeable locations and the impression given by certain photographs circulating in the department, real work is done."



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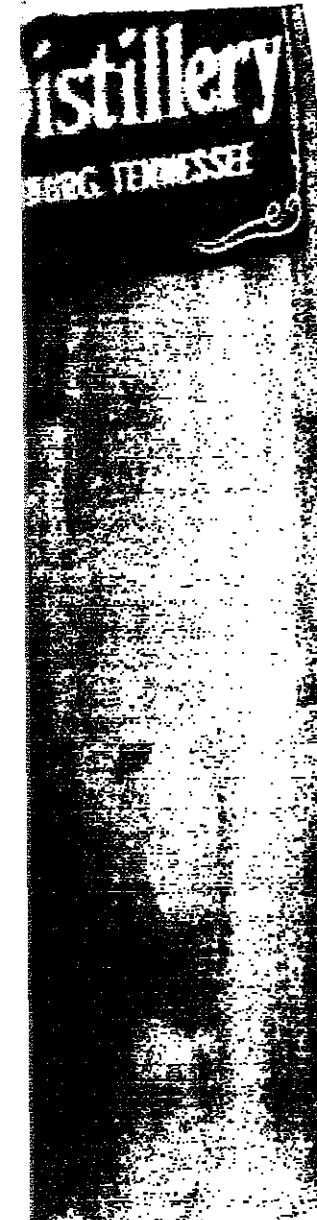
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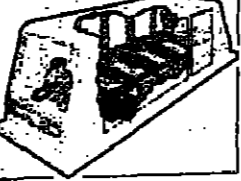
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In Tuesday's new-look Guardian Education

Merger mania: exploring the mega university of the future; the great debate on school selection; free holidays for teachers and the latest in IT.

Schools resources: the Italian political crisis, France after the riots and the alcoholic lemonade row. Inside Out: the flywheel tram.



Racing

Street can be in front at right time

Ron Cox thinks fast Ascot pace will prove deciding factor for Sherwood's gelding

FINishing the winner of today's Victor Chandler Handicap Chase at Ascot will not be easy, but one thing is certain. The pace will be hot. Martin's Lamp, Gales Cavalier and Kibreet all like to go off in front, and there is always Egypt Mill Prince...

Backers face an even stiffer examination at Leopardstown when attempting to negotiate the nine-furlong that is The Ladbrokes.

This competitive handicap hurdle lures fancied British raiders every year, but none has managed to emulate Barnbrook Again, who won in 1987 when Ladbrokes took over the sponsorship. The fancied Irish runners have fared none too well in recent years either...



Re-match... Martin's Lamp, about to be overhauled by Front Street at Ascot, takes on the winner again in today's Victor Chandler Chase

Strong stakes Arkle claim

DAVID NICHOLSON, the champion jockey, and his stable trainer, Adrian Maguire, landed a double at Ascot yesterday with Certainly Strong and Percy Smollett. Certainly Strong, owned by Nick Skelton, the top show jump rider, took the novices chase by 11 lengths and will now be aimed for the Arkle at the Cheltenham Festival.

"She's a lovely mare who is a lot stronger now," said Nicholson. "She settles in front - she never did in behind - and I'm delighted with her." Maguire produced Percy Smollett with a fine run in the home straight to beat Unguided Missile by eight lengths in the Hairy Mary Handicap.

Ascot card with guide to the form

Table of racing results for Ascot, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Ascot, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

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Table of racing results for Ascot, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Warwick with form for televised races

Table of racing results for Warwick, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

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Table of racing results for Warwick, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Warwick, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Newcastle runners and riders

Table of racing results for Newcastle, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Newcastle, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Newcastle, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Newcastle, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Leopardstown

Table of racing results for Leopardstown, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Leopardstown, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table of racing results for Leopardstown, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

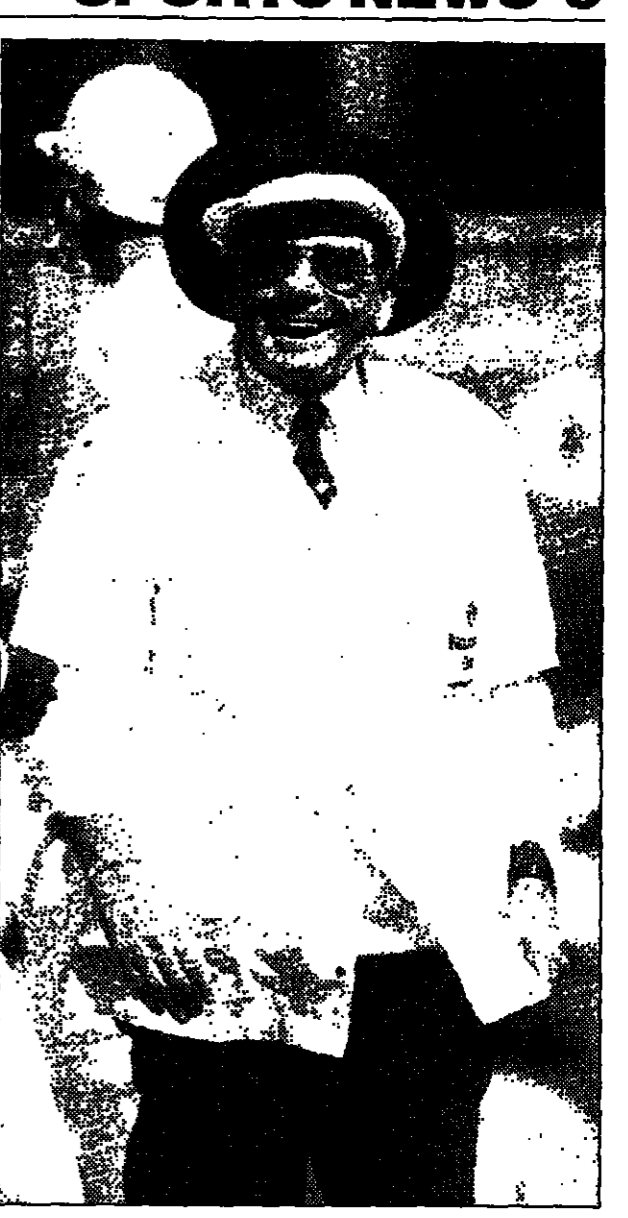
Table of racing results for Leopardstown, including race numbers, names of horses, jockeys, and finishing positions.

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Strong stakes Arkle claim

DAVID NICHOLSON, the champion jump trainer and his star horse, Arkle, are set to claim a double at Ascot...



Bird in full flight... everyone's favourite Test match umpire from Barnsley to Bombay presents some of the faces and frolics that could reduce the most hot-tempered of fast bowlers to a kitten in his presence

Mother hen who proved that flapping could be fun

David Hopps pays tribute to the unique umpiring of Dickie Bird who will stand in a Test match for the last time at Lord's in June

DICKIE BIRD will umpire a farewell Test against India at Lord's in June before retiring from the international game...

Bird's popularity came from more than that. It was the recognition of his essential honesty, his unworried delight in both the game and its players...

criss-crossed his career. When the International Cricket Council inaugurated its post of neutral umpires two years ago, Bird was the obvious first choice...

Glum Ramprakash still up for an England World Cup place

ENGLAND'S Mark Ramprakash will definitely play in one of this weekend's two internationals against South Africa despite his demoralising recent form...

Greg 'mentally unfit' Chappell comes clean over underarm ball

GREG CHAPPELL said yesterday that he was not right in the head when he ordered his captain brother Terry to bowl the notorious underarm delivery that ended New Zealand's chances in a 1981 World Series match...

Table Tennis Syed homing in on Atlanta

MATTHEW SYED and Lisa Lomas both won their groups and made winning starts to the second stage of the Olympic qualifying competition at the Nynex Open...

Sport in brief

Cricket: The old firm of Desmond Haynes and Gordon Greenidge hit back with an opening stand of 137 as West Indies retained the World Masters Series title...

Lingfield all-weather programme

Table listing horse racing results for Lingfield, including race numbers, names, and times.

ASCOT

Table listing horse racing results for Ascot, including race numbers, names, and times.

Results

Table listing various sports results, including tennis, basketball, and other events.

Results

Table listing various sports results, including basketball, ice hockey, and other events.

Advertisement for RACELINE, a full results service, with contact numbers for various locations.

Advertisement for Amigos foiled, mentioning Jimmy Fitzgerald and a disappointing season.

Advertisement for ASCOT WARWICK, NCASTLE, LINGFIELD, and IRISH, with contact numbers.

Advertisement for Table Tennis, mentioning the European Olympic Qualifying Tournament.



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### Soccer Tackle from behind

**Soccer Diary**  
Martin Thorpe

**A** CURIOUS story appeared in one of the tabloids earlier this week about an alleged incident in the Chelsea car park after their FA Cup game with Newcastle. Apparently Kevin Keegan went over to Alan Hudson and, according to the former Chelsea player, "started slugging me off ... and jabbed a finger in my chin".

This story about had blood between two old players is interesting not because, in the light of Wednesday's Terry McBerrett dust-up, it seems to confirm a rather tetchy dimension to the Newcastle management team. Nor should the story be taken seriously because of its tone of moral indignation; that claim was lost the moment someone decided to headline the piece "Soccer At War".

No. What was interesting about this tawdry tale was the way Hudson presented it. For paragraph after paragraph he criticised Keegan's character with observations such as "Kevin went a long way down in my estimation when he threatened me"; "I was very disappointed in Kevin"; "Kevin wants it all his own way and he can't get it he sulks. I played with him in the England Under-23 side and he was a sulker then".

And after 30 paragraphs of this Hudson then said, no kidding: "But there is no way I am going to rubbish him." He then continues with more of his vilification. Trying to pretend you are not saying what you patently are is an odd phenomenon but not an uncommon one. It cropped up twice later in the week.

After his side's Coca-Cola Cup defeat at Leeds the Reading co-manager Mick Gooding asserted: "I don't like to see anyone sent off, before adding "but Gary McAllister had a swing at Phil Parkinson and that's vilest conduct".

And over at Carrow Road Birmingham's Barry Fry was on the warpath after a blatant Norwich handball. Yes, you guessed it: "I don't like to see anyone sent off but Newsome should have gone."

**P**OLICE are looking for two suspects involved in an assault in Hacken-thorpe. According to the Sheffield Telegraph they were "both wearing dark colour three-quarter length coats of the type sometimes worn by football managers". But what sort of coats do managers wear? Dominic Rice of Sheffield, who spotted the story, suggests that Roy Aitken wears a "Gaberdeen". Mark McBoee a turncoat while there are quite a few players who would suit a donkey jacket.

**S**O MUCH for press freedom. A story recently appeared in a Sunday newspaper which claimed that John Barnes was having an affair with Carlisle's manager. Barnes was not best pleased and have taken revenge. They have stopped stocking the fridge in the Anfield press room with beer.

**I**T IS bad enough Jason Becking, sitting on the pitch but a bit rich when he is accused of being slow in the warm-up. At last week's FA Cup tie at Stoke a senior policeman approached the Forest bench to ask for Lee to move quicker in his routine as the kids in the junior section could not see enough of the game.

**S**O WHY the surprise at Terry Venables's decision to quit? Early January is normally the time to get rid of the Christmas tree.

**I**N THE end it was poor old Sir Bert Millichip, the FA chairman, who did for Venables — inadvertently. The principal reason the England coach decided to stand down was because the libel action brought against him by Alan Sugar will be in court in October and November, the same time as England play vital World Cup qualifiers.



Day return ... Greg Rusedski heads for defeat at the hands of Todd Martin in Sydney. PHOTOGRAPH BY MEGAN LEWIS

### Becker next for beaten Rusedski

**G**REG RUSEDSKI'S winning run at the Peters International in Sydney was ended at the semi-final stage yesterday when he was beaten by Todd Martin.

Open next week, Rusedski went down 7-5, 7-6 to the American Martin, who will meet Goran Ivanisevic in today's final. The Croat won 6-3, 7-6 over the home player Todd Woodbridge.

### Tennis Agassi rides crest of the old wave

**David Irvine** wonders where the young Americans are as he looks at contenders for next week's Australian Open in Melbourne

**M**ONICA SELES'S renewed challenge to Steffi Graf should help revive the flagging women's game in what seems an encouraging season. The rivalry between the top Americans Andre Agassi and Pete Sampras, finalists in two of last year's Grand Slam tournaments, can only bring spice to the men's game.

Yet in the run-up to the Australian Open, here on the hard courts of the enlarged Flinders Park stadium, there is growing apprehension about the future. The next wave of champions is nowhere in sight.

Where established players such as Sampras, Agassi, Boris Becker, Michael Chang, Goran Ivanisevic and even Andre Medvedev all broke into the top 10 as teenagers, there are now no players on the list below the age of 21.

mainly has the potential to be ranked higher than he is." At present Enqvist looks a better bet than Philippoussis because he has greater agility and consistency on his ground strokes. None the less the 6ft 4in Australian has an intimidating game and — as he demonstrated when he took a set off Sampras at the US Open — can rise to the big occasion.

It is unlikely, however, that Sampras and the holder Agassi will let an outsider steal their thunder — even if neither is as well prepared as he might have liked. Agassi, now recovered from a chest injury, has not played competitively for three months, while Sampras had to miss this week's warm-up event at Kooyong because of flu.

The left-handed Ivanisevic, who has appointed his travelling partner and boyhood friend Vedran Martić as his coach and who won the Grand Slam Cup, could emerge as the principal challenger to the top-seeded American duo. "That gave me the sort of confidence I've lacked since defeating Arantxa Sanchez-Vicario in last year's final. Conchita Martinez, Sanchez-Vicario and Gabriela Sabatini.

That Seles's shortlist of rivals is so brief reflects just how bare the women's cupboard is. Kimiko Date, an undistinguished Japanese without a title of significance to her credit, finds herself seeded fourth.

Sadly, with the exception of the Swiss youngster Martina Hingis, aged 16, who is ranked high enough to be seeded fourth, the women's list is another to be seeded for the first time — has a game with broader dimensions than is now the norm.

Seles feels she must beware the title-holder Mary Pierce, who has not won any event of significance since defeating Arantxa Sanchez-Vicario in last year's final. Conchita Martinez, Sanchez-Vicario and Gabriela Sabatini.



Enqvist ... on the rise

### Rugby Union Ntamack the knife well honed for England

**Robert Armstrong** on the French flyer threatening a trial of pace in Paris

**I**T IS easy to see why many Frenchmen believe Emile Ntamack will spearhead his country to a Grand Slam for the first time in nine years after his place in the team for next week's Five Nations opener against England was confirmed this week. The Toulouse flyer may not be as big and strong as Jonah Lomu but, at 6ft 2in and 14st, he is quick, powerful and elusive, presenting a major threat to British and Irish defences over the next two months.

vious meeting, the World Cup play-off, Ntamack's late try clinched the first French victory in nine matches against their old enemy. If Underwood has lost even a fraction of pace, Ntamack will show no mercy; after all, the Frenchman has caused the almost turning Lomu embarrassment in the 22-15 win over New Zealand in Toulouse two months ago.

That triumph at his home ground, Des Sept Deniers, remains Ntamack's most cherished memory (even though he failed to score) in a remarkable year that won him a place in most people's putative World XV. "It is always sweeter to win when the critics are expecting you to lose to one of the two best sides in the world," said Ntamack with a smile. "Still, our 37-12 defeat in Paris a week later was an unpleasant shock and now we must establish our credibility again. Clearly a home win against England is long overdue."

Ntamack has enjoyed an insider's view of the vagaries of French rugby politics which saw the French coach Pierre Berbizier ousted, despite an excellent World Cup, of the Toulouse coach Jean-Claude Skrela, who had recruited Ntamack on the advice of Pierre Villepreux, replaced Berbizier and promptly terminated the contract of the All Blacks. Skrela's desire to have his side keep the ball alive at all costs — it proved costly in Paris — should guarantee a decisive role for his club captain in Five Nations matches.

The umbilical cord between Toulouse and the French squad should serve as a warning to England, whose half-backed efforts to change character and play a running game have lacked conviction. Ntamack will be greatly aided by the presence of the versatile Toulouse backs, the scrum-half Philippe Carbon-



No holding Ntamack ... the grounded Morris is left behind in the World Cup defeat by France in Pretoria. SHAUN BOTTERELL

neau and the centre Thomas Castaignède, not to mention the ball-holding prop Christian Calmano, Richard Castel, the dynamic Toulouse flanker who did much to unbalance Cardiff, will be on the France bench.

It is a measure of Ntamack's love of the curusculat Toulouse style developed by Villepreux that he rejected substantial offers from several leading clubs and instead signed for Toulouse for a modest monthly salary in 1991. In the Nineties Toulouse have relied heavily on their youth programme and, even though Ntamack is now their highest-paid player, he receives only £2,000 a month from the club. That is supplemented by £2,500 a month as a member of the France squad.

It would profit England to make a careful study of why Ntamack has become such a lethal finisher. The statistics of French play are illuminating: their pass/kick ratio is five to two and their share of total passes in a Test averages 65 per cent. The French get to the parts the English cannot reach — the wings — because they place a high premium on crisp, accurate handling. The beneficiaries tend to be Ntamack and St André.

A frame-by-frame video re-run of Ntamack's match-winning try in the World Cup match against Scotland would show he adjusted his angle of running with a big push off his left foot that allowed him to muscle over for the touchdown. The same awareness got him on the score-sheet in Ireland's quarter-final defeat

### Basketball Towers lean on a newly cut backcourt

**Robert Pryce**

**K**EVIN CADLE says the London Towers are "in better shape than anybody" in the Basketball League. Steve Bucknall and Benny Lewis will have to stay that way this season if the Towers are to win their first titles.

Bucknall and Lewis are Cadle's starting guards. In fact, they are just about his only guards. Approaching their first appearance in the 7-Up Trophy final today, the Towers may be only one more inopportune injury from another blank season.

They started out with plenty of depth in the backcourt. But Mark Hubbard, the former England gunner, has never fully recovered from back surgery. And Joel Moore, the 30-year-old former England international who was expected to provide ball-handling and shooting help, was transferred to the Manchester Giants yesterday.

Bucknall and Lewis will have to play almost all the game against the Worcester Bears at the NEC this evening, but then they have borne the backcourt burden pretty successfully all season. Bucknall, the former Los Angeles Laker, has six titles in league in scoring (21.9 a game) and third in assists (5.6 a game). Lewis, who used to frustrate his team-mates as often as he thrilled his fans, has turned down the dazzle to take on the playmaking role.

A quickly drawn portrait of the two teams would show the Bears looking older, shorter and slower, but they have the big-game players and the reliability that Cadle covets. He is also hoping for a spectacle to beguile the NEC crowd and Sky audience. "I want both teams to play to their potential," he says. "If both teams play to their potential, we'll win."

### Skiing Downhill fails to survive troublesome Streif

**T**HE only man who could gain the slightest satisfaction from yesterday's cancellation of Kitzbühel's sprint downhill was Lasse Kjus, the World Cup leader by 366 points, who is lying in a local hospital with a very sore head after a spectacular fall in training. writes John Samuel.

Kjus, who hopes for a comeback in three weeks, was a victim of the Streif at its most satanic. Yesterday overnight Föhn turned more open sections from ice to icing sugar. The organisers had no alternative but to cancel but they are still hopeful for today's full-course Hahnenkamm.

### Boxing IBF heavyweight champion fails drug test

**T**HE LUCK of Axel Schulz might finally be changing, writes Jack Massarik. Americans boomed as the unsung German heavyweight was allegedly outpointed by ancient George Foreman last April, and then denied a rematch. German spectators yelled the ring when Francois Botha of South Africa beat Schulz by

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The inimitable face of Dickie Bird, page 9  
Rusedski draws the power of Becker, page 11

Soccer renaissance in the North-East, page 10

# SportsGuardian

## European ban leaves Spurs fuming

Martin Thorpe

**A**N ALMIGHTY row was brewing yesterday after Uefa banned Tottenham Hotspur and Wimbledon from European competition for a year as further punishment for their half-hearted participation in the InterToto Cup.

Both clubs will appeal but Alan Sugar, the Tottenham chairman, is almost certain to consider legal action if what he sees as a blatant injustice is not overturned — especially as Spurs are in a strong position in the Premiership to win a Uefa Cup place this season.

Uefa has already docked English clubs a Uefa Cup place next season over the InterToto incident and also withheld appearance money from Tottenham and Wimbledon. The general view yesterday was that this third punishment was a step too far.

Yesterday Sugar said: "There must be a very big misunderstanding and I am sure it will be cleared up very shortly."

Premier League clubs agreed in principle to compete in last summer's InterToto Cup but some months later got cold feet. However, Uefa refused to allow them to withdraw, threatening the FA with the loss of a Uefa Cup place if three English clubs did not appear.

In the end three volunteered, Sheffield Wednesday, Wimbledon and Spurs. "We entered the InterToto Cup by way of a favour to the Football Association and Premier League," confirmed Sugar yesterday. And he stressed: "We received permission from them to play a weaker team and even to use players from other clubs and play at other club's stadiums (they played at Brighton)."

"I believe we even confirmed this in writing and also received an assurance by telephone from Uefa that nothing would happen if we proceeded on that basis."

"Therefore, the wires have been crossed somewhere and I am sure it will be resolved. I am confident that both the FA and Premier League will back up exactly what I have said."

The FA and Premier League both pledged their full support to the appeals. Sheffield Wednesday, who put out stronger teams and played at Hillsborough, were only reprimanded by Uefa.

## THE SUCCESSION TO VENABLES: NOW FRANCIS TURNS HIS BACK



**Gerry Francis**  
*'I am of the same opinion as I was two years ago: if my future is in football, it would be at club level'*

**Glenn Hoddle**  
*'I haven't even thought about it. I have enough problems of my own as a club manager. I imagine the FA want continuity and Bryan Robson is my idea of the man who would get it'*



**Howard Wilkinson**  
*'I have absolutely nothing to say about whether or not I might want the job or whether I am the person for the job or who I think should have the job'*



# FA refuses to panic

Leading candidates are still in the England frame in spite of their apparent lack of interest, reports **Martin Thorpe**

**E**NGLAND appeared to be running out of candidates for the job of manager yesterday but the Football Association refused to panic.

Kevin Keegan, Bryan Robson and Ray Wilkins seemed to rule themselves out on Thursday and yesterday it was the turn of Gerry Francis. But the FA's chief executive Graham Kelly is unperturbed. When asked yesterday whether he was worried, he replied: "Not unduly. Things can change."

This is an acknowledgement that, though a manager may pledge his loyalty to a club, it can be more a common courtesy than an unequivocal position. The general feeling remains that Robson is the man to replace Terry Venables, especially as

he is understood to have a get-out clause in his Middlesbrough contract should an England offer be made.

Francis said yesterday: "At the present time I am of the same opinion as I was two years ago, when I was interviewed about the England position — that if my future is in football, it would be at club level." But does "at the present time" mean he could change his mind?

If so, Francis would be available, as he works without a contract at Spurs. Another contender, Glenn Hoddle, would also be free as his Chelsea contract expires at the end of this season. And yesterday he did not rule out his candidacy. "I haven't even thought about it. I don't wish to plan too far ahead," he said, before backing Robson for the job.

It is understood that the Leeds manager Howard Wilkinson is unlikely to be considered for the post, even if he wanted it. Yesterday he was giving little away: "I have absolutely nothing to say about whether or not I might want the job or whether I am the person for the job."

"I have absolutely nothing to say about who I think should have the job. I have nothing to say about what I think the job is about or the qualities I think are necessary for whoever does get the job."

A dark horse for the position could be Nottingham Forest's Frank Clark. He is highly thought of within the FA and yesterday his odds for the job shortened sharply from 33-1 to 20-1. Kelly said that the FA subcommittee charged with find-

ing a new manager will begin its work next week, adding: "We'd like to have the announcement made before Euro '96 because that will give the person concerned the opportunity of thinking about the job, watching the teams we will be playing in the World Cup and generally making preparations."

He also said that the new man could learn alongside the current coach before the handover. "I'm sure Terry would welcome him along and extend every facility to him; there is no reason not to," said Kelly. "But there has got to be a clear understanding that it's Terry's job for this championship."

Kelly gave few hints about the FA's thinking on a successor but ruled out a *split face* by Venables. "The FA mediation between Sugar and Venables has not yet succeeded and it was Terry's view that it would not succeed in sufficient time to avoid the court cases in October and Novem-

ber. So I don't see any way back from the decision he conveyed to us the other day." The stumbling block is that the gap between Sugar and Venables is too wide. Each has moved towards the other but short of a miracle, it won't be resolved in time.

But, he added pointedly: "Had that dispute been resolved earlier the situation with Terry would have been different."

## Players put in peril by Tel exchange



David Lacey

**A** NUMBER of England footballers' careers were put on hold this week. Some may even notice. That is the way of it when a national coach announces his intention of standing down.

The length of the guess list concerning the man the Football Association will appoint to succeed Terry Venables after the European Championship has almost been matched by the queue of those declaring their lack of interest in the job.

This is hardly surprising considering the managerial reputations ruined by the England experience. Why exchange a well-paid life in the Premier League for a smaller salary in purgatory? Did the Church of England consult Venables, Graham Taylor and Bobby Robson before redefining Hell?

Somebody, however, will eventually be handed the task of attempting to take England to the 1998 World Cup in France via Italy, Poland, Georgia and Moldova while the back pages search for some new lines in abuse.

The first favour the FA can do Venables's successor is to ensure that, when the dates for the qualifiers are sorted out in Warsaw next week, England do not play a World Cup game before October. The next England coach will need to see his team in action at least once before hardening up his ideas for the coming struggle.

On just what those ideas turn out to be will depend the futures of a number of players who until this week might reasonably have assumed they would still be part of the international scene after Euro '96. For Paul Gascoigne, Teddy Sheringham and Dennis Wise the identity of the next England coach will be of particular interest. The same goes for David Platt, too, although on his present form for Arsenal he might struggle to get

into a side picked by Taylor. Spare a thought, too, for Gréme Le Saux and Darren Anderton, who blossomed under Venables but who are, for the moment, in limbo. Injuries could force both out of the European Championship and the next coach may have other preferences.

It would be a rare change-over that did not see at least one England career chopped off at the knees. Frank Worthington was a gifted centre-forward but he lasted only two more games once Don Revie had relieved Joe Mercer of the England caretaker-ship in 1974. Revie was not into Elvis and Worthington's designer-stubble was 20 years ahead of its time.

The arrival of Ron Greenwood in 1977 meant only one more cap for Brian Talbot, and that against Australia, because in the age of the thoroughbred there was no longer a place for an honest but limited workhorse. In the same way Carlton Palmer, whose lack of tactical discipline drove Taylor to screaming pitch, quickly disappeared from the England scene once Venables had taken over.

**P**ERSONALITIES also come into the argument. Robson, for example, wasted no time dropping Kevin Keegan when he became manager after the 1982 World Cup. And what might England have achieved had Venables been given the job in 1990, when Chris Waddle and Gary Lineker, neither of them Taylor's greatest fans, were in the squad?

A number of international players, then, will be made or unmade by the next England coach. The appointment of Gerry Francis, for example, would have been good news for Ferdinand, Sheringham, Anderton and Barnaby.

Francis's teams attack with Taylor's high tempo and defend with Venables's austerity. Bryan Robson and Glenn Hoddle are counter-attackers who place slightly more emphasis on possession. All three are in the "No" lobby, along with Keegan.

Whoever takes over, the international scene after Euro '96. For Paul Gascoigne, Teddy Sheringham and Dennis Wise the identity of the next England coach will be of particular interest. The same goes for David Platt, too, although on his present form for Arsenal he might struggle to get

## Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,548

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary, will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,548, Reference Marketing, Harper Collins Publishing, 77-85 Fulham Palace Road, London, W6 6JB, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday January 22.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

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- Set by Plodge
- Across**
- 1, 26, 28 The seven fond words we're loth to abandon (7,2,3,5)
  - 5 Wispy-washy pickpocket is back after being inside (7)
  - 9 One's without means to make a sink about it (5)
  - 10, 14 An Aircraftman Straw's seven mild spoils of war (7,2,6)
  - 11 Quick march! The Guardian is being flourished in the Commons (5,5)
  - 12 Grasses are coming up on Sirius (4)
  - 14 The Premier sometimes kicks out the seven (6,5)
  - 18 Ill-met, in facing the western seven (11)
- Down**
- 1 see 10
  - 2 Diana's oysters? (5)
  - 3 One's gut-reaction to suffering in later age (10)
  - 4 Cuttlefish takes off, holding one back (5)

Collins English Dictionary

- 5 Wrong but strangely pure note played by bad character (3-6)
- 6 You must speak up to appropriate the seven (4)
- 7 The draught is back in place (5)
- 8 Minerals expert is about to fell all the trees (8)
- 13 Sober Sam but foolishly following his promises to pay up (10)
- 15 Getting down a pale ale with a gin sling chaser (9)
- 16 By no means all will admit claw-back trade restrictions (8)
- 17 Employing grave force? That is wrong (8)
- 19 The summons that man received will make him squirm (5)
- 20 Almost heard the reason for Jules having brought out the fabulous dragon (6)
- 23 See 1 across
- 24 Fall back to the island in Manila Bay (4)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,547

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## Mystery of the two Barrels.

A Publican was left bamboozled yesterday as he was required to measure out exactly 40 litres of Ruddles County.

He was presented with two barrels, one having a 30 litre capacity and the other being able to hold 50 litres. An unlimited supply of this most marvellous beer was available and he could fill each of the barrels as many times as he wished. However, the hapless individual failed to puzzle it out.

Perhaps you could have been of some assistance?

A top 30 litre and 50 litre barrel expert from the Ruddles brewery announced plans to release information leading to the solving of this conundrum, advising people to put their minds at rest by revolving their heads 180 degrees.

SOLO: 30 Litre barrel: A, 50 Litre barrel: B. Pour 10 litres into A, leaving 20 litres in B.  
Solo: 30 Litre barrel: B, 50 Litre barrel: A. Fill B, empty into A, leaving 20 litres in B. Empty A.

BRIAN W...  
night. STE

King...  
mus...  
to F...  
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13  
Saturday January 13  
1996

# The Guardian Outlook

## BRIAN WENHAM urges the BBC's next chairman to go boldly into pay TV, while right, STEVE BARNETT says the time has come to break Murdoch's grip on sport

### King Bland must dish it to Rupert

### The battle the Beeb can win

**W**ITH customary back-handedness, ministers have gone out of their way to give Christopher Bland, the next BBC chairman, a baptism of fire. It was needlessly arrogant of them not to run his appointment past the Opposition, whose grudging acquiescence was there for the asking, and further folly not to have popped him into the post sooner.

As it is, the appointment of this staunch Tory coincides with the opening salvos of a long, long pre-election tussle. That tussle is shaping up as Shareholder versus Stakeholder. Multi-millionaire Bland, a spectacular beneficiary of the first, will now have his work cut out ensuring his troops give full balancing weight to the second. Had ministers moved faster, Bland might have been accorded a new boy's benefit of the doubt. In the present fevered atmosphere he will have to earn it, day by day and week by week.

Pressure will be at its most intense during the election campaign itself, when BBC wobbles are usually at their worst. Last time round it contrived to "hold over" a perceptive Panorama piece from Peter Jay, its economics editor, preferring to let the Tory machine whirr away unimpeded. It was a low moment, for a refreshing contrast to the windy rhetoric of the present regime.

Post-election, Bland's nerve will come more into its own, as the BBC advances into the multi-channel world and is able to bring in commercial capital. Labour, which speaks confidently of public and private money working together, can hardly complain. But there is a selling job yet to be done.

Many traditional BBC supporters find this notion hard to take, even though funding has long been plural. The Foreign Office pays for the External Radio services, and co-production, and other commercial monies help prop up

domestic TV in particular. Competitors will be eagle-eyed to challenge whatever they see as an abuse of power. That conjures up the unpleasing prospect of lawyers by the score replacing the armies of management consultants who so disfigured the Hussey years. And there will inevitably be large considerations of financial prudence as the BBC moves deeper into what is still largely uncharted territory.

The biggest mistake would be simply to mimic what other stations have been offering. Thus far satellite and cable exploited the obvious. The appetite for films had been well established by the growth of video rental. Similarly any student of Grandstand could tell you extended sport coverage was a natural for pay television. The major problem here is of the Government's making, ignoring as it did the need for ground rules to prevent terrestrial viewers being seriously deprived. News has provided the third major plank — and news organisations always expand to fill the time and space available.

The BBC is contemplating initiatives in both news and sport, but it needs to go beyond. It needs to explore avenues that are less obvious, and that carry a stronger public service resonance. The approach of digital television means that channel capacity is not a constraint, but the quality of ideas may be.

Two initial thoughts. We are constantly told that the educational system is at full stretch. The BBC ranks education within its tripartite of "inform, educate and entertain". In practice education has always run a poor third, squeezed for space and for talent. Educational programming could plug gaps left by more formal provision. If a package can be put together with conviction, then it should be done, and provided it makes a serious contribution, done with public subvention.

Similarly, classical music is at the heart of BBC tradition. The BBC still retains a fistful of orchestras, and it runs a radio music channel. Add to that the output of opera houses and concert halls across the land, and you begin to see the outline of a distinctive offering. Putting this package in place would be fraught with trickiness over rights and payments, but — if done well — it could find a ready subscribers club. Devotees are as numerous as for most sports, and many stump up £200 for a night out for two at Jeremy Isaac's

place. When BBC2 screened Wagner's Ring in the early eighties, a million viewers watched what is hardly easy fare. Take that as meaning half a million homes, and assume only a tenth sign on at, say £100 a year. £50 million looks like good cost-covering economics, with the prospect of expanding through Europe to come.

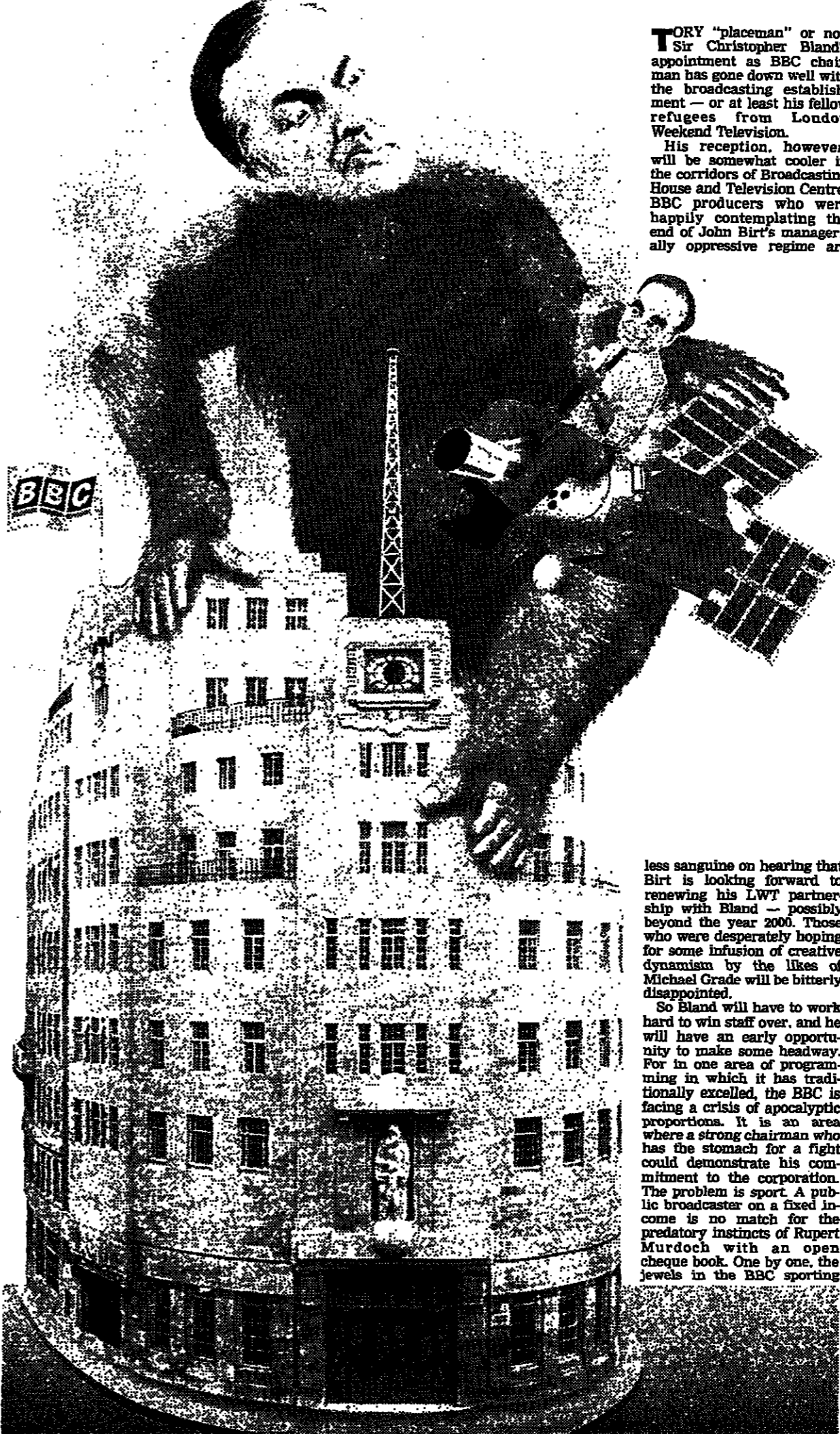
Having spent the last 10 years spitting on its own past, the BBC must now dig into its heritage, and find ways of driving true broadcast choice forward. It should come more easily to them than to rivals whose bottom-line considerations will push them towards safer options.

It must, of course, always take care not to deprive the licence-payer of something he or she might reasonably expect to have got within the licence, and it will need financial transparency of a sort that has not always come easily to the corporation.

But long-term its salvation will lie in doing what it always claims it does best — even when it evidently does not — and that is to extend the range of what is available, and then to extend it again and again.

That is Bland's challenge, and he is both clear-headed and far-sighted enough to take it on. But who sits alongside him? Early comment has assumed Bland's arrival means a further term for John Birt, his one-time LWT director of programmes. But the imagination now called for is not Birt's strongest suit, and in any case chairmen like their own appointees.

On the past four occasions, after much huffing and puffing, the job has gone to the next in line, in this case Bob Phillips, Birt's deputy. But next time there might be a field that is genuinely open. Michael Grade is often mentioned but the idea now has an eighties feel to it. Greg Dyke works well with Bland, but one multi-millionaire is enough for the BBC, two might be thought to verge on the louché. So a fourth name comes up: David Elstein, BBC-trainee who then went through the hoops at ITV and as an independent, and who now works for Murdoch. Time was when his present position would have been considered an obstacle, but now it may well be a plus.



**T**ORY "placeman" or not, Sir Christopher Bland's appointment as BBC chairman has gone down well with the broadcasting establishment — or at least his fellow refugees from London Weekend Television.

His reception, however, will be somewhat cooler in the corridors of Broadcasting House and Television Centre. BBC producers who were happily contemplating the end of John Birt's managerially oppressive regime are

under its nose and turned into hugely profitable satellite commodities. Now, if you want to watch live Premier League soccer, golf's Ryder Cup, cricket one-day internationals or Rugby League, you won't get much change out of £200 a year. No one but satellite viewers will get to see next month's cricket's World Cup — not even highlights. Soon, it will be rugby's Five Nations, followed by Wimbledon and the Grand National. Murdoch's bid for the Sydney Olympic Games in the year 2000 is already on the table.

Not everyone likes sport. But even those who reach for the remote control at the sight of Desmond Lynam appreciate the cultural significance of great sporting occasions which are part of the country's national heritage. Over eight million viewers regularly tune in to BBC's A Question of Sport and many more watch the big events. Sport matters to a lot of people, but only 20 per cent of homes have access to satellite channels.

The big sporting events can, and should, be protected for universal viewing on terrestrial channels — as they were before the 1990 Broadcasting Act abolished such protection except for (non-existent) pay-as-you-view purposes. And Sir Christopher Bland can lead the way by calling on both political parties to unite in defence of a provision which is manifestly in the public interest.

He will face howls of protest — from the sporting bodies who will claim gross interference in their negotiating ability, and from Murdoch's representatives on earth who will whine that it is manifestly about the need to preserve a free market. With four competing terrestrial broadcasters, the argument no longer holds. It is based purely on greed.

It would be a brave campaign, not least because it will reignite those hostile self-interested editorials which were a feature of the Murdoch press a decade ago. But there is much more than televised sport at stake. Within his five-year tenure Bland is going to face a renewed political battle for the licence fee — opposed this time not by the radical right but by the old-style left concerned about an escalating and regressive tax on the elderly and low-paid. More than any other single programming strand, the gradual disappearance of big sporting events from the BBC erodes the case for a compulsory licence fee. The BBC knows it. And so does Rupert Murdoch.

It is a battle worth fighting, and even the Labour Party may suspend its love affair with Rupert long enough to listen. Just to launch the campaign will give Bland a flying start with the anxious staff and satellite-wary viewers he is about to inherit. He doesn't have long to stem the flow.

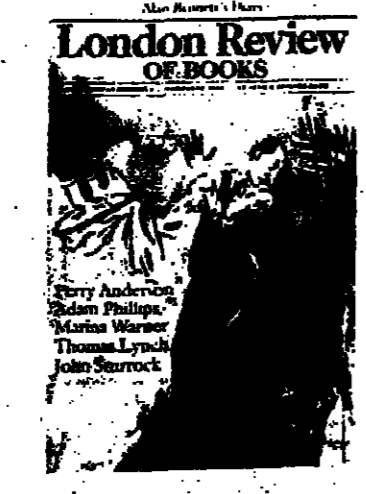
less sanguine on hearing that Birt is looking forward to renewing his LWT partnership with Bland — possibly beyond the year 2000. Those who were desperately hoping for some infusion of creative dynamism by the likes of Michael Grade will be bitterly disappointed.

So Bland will have to work hard to win staff over, and he will have an early opportunity to make some headway. For in one area of programming in which it has traditionally excelled, the BBC is facing a crisis of apocalyptic proportions. It is an area where a strong chairman who has the stomach for a fight could demonstrate his commitment to the corporation. The problem is sport. A public broadcaster on a fixed income is no match for the free-market instincts of Rupert Murdoch with an open cheque book. One by one, the jewels in the BBC sporting

Brian Wenham is a former managing director of BBC network radio.

Illustration by Steve Caplin

Alan Bennett wishes you a rewarding New Year with the London Review of Books



David Frost's rise as a political commentator is in direct proportion to the decline of respect for politicians. Major, Blair and Ashdown meekly trot along to be lightly grilled by Frost, and indeed use the occasion for statements of policy and matters of national importance. It's as if Jesus were to undertake the feeding of the Five Thousand as a contribution to Challenge Anneka.

Alan Bennett, in the current issue of the London Review of Books

Wit, intelligence, political analysis, literary criticism, mirth. These and more are available for your intellectual pleasure this year and for years to come in the London Review of Books — said by Alan Bennett to be 'the liveliest, the most serious and also the most radical literary magazine we have'.

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Women MPs: the struggle continues

DIANA MADDOCK'S holier-than-thou condemnation of the Labour Party's efforts to get more women into Parliament obscures the real issue of an inbuilt bias towards men in selection of candidates by individual constituencies...

MPs when women make up more than 80 per cent of the population? Would attacks on lone parents have occurred to such an extent if there were more women in Parliament?

One of the main barriers to women securing more seats in Parliament is the unfair electoral system and Labour has had to operate quotas in this system. Norway and Sweden have used quotas to increase the number of women MPs...

COMMENDING the industrial tribunal's ruling, Ann Carlton called on the 34 candidates so far selected from women-only shortlists to demand re-selection on a "fair basis"...

YOUR report is wrong to state that an all-women shortlist was "imposed by Walworth Road" on Keighley (Court loses upset shortlist losers, January 9). The decision to put Keighley forward was made quite properly by a majority of the constituency's executive officers...

WOMEN had to struggle to get the vote and now have to fight to be taken seriously in politics. Can anyone argue that it is fair for there to be 9 per cent women?



Competing claims on a dig

GEORGE MONBIOT'S article (A monumental mistake, January 10) was simplistic and glib. In a country with a very long history of human settlement like Britain, virtually the entire landscape can be regarded as an archaeological palimpsest...

ALTHOUGH much of what George Monbiot says is correct, readers should not think that archaeologists have been unconcerned about environmental issues. I myself will shortly be arguing at the Hastings Bypass public enquiry that the bypass should be stopped on archaeological grounds...

guidance from DoE and EH says that there should always be a presumption for the preservation of the archaeological remains. The actual practice is that sites are often destroyed because they are found too late in the development process...

a wildlife of spectacular biodiversity which inhabited a landscape from which traces of the earlier activities of our own species had largely been erased. We can still regenerate our depleted wildlife, but for the disappearing elements of the historic environment there is no second chance.

Sanctions aren't working but the cure for Gulf War Syndrome is

THE people of Iraq have now suffered five years of sanctions as a means of bringing Saddam Hussein into line with UN directives. They have been starved on minimal rations; hospitals are desperately short of even the most basic equipment such as syringes and anaesthetics...

The most common infection found thus far has been an unusual micro-organism, Mycoplasma fermentans (uncognitively strain), found in the white blood cells of GWI patients. We have found that about one-half of the GWI-CFIDS patients have this infection, and it can be successfully treated with multiple courses of antibiotics...

Our published study on 650 soldiers and their immediate family members who suffer from GWI indicates that these veterans have chronic signs and symptoms almost identical to Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS). The symptoms are aching joints, chronic fatigue, memory loss, sleep difficulties, headaches, skin rashes, diarrhoea, vision problems, nausea, breathing problems and others.

Psychiatrists target The Archers

WE ARE worried about Kate Archer on Radio 4. She was found comatose following an overdose of tablets, hospitalised and subsequently discharged. Now there appears to be collusion between her actions and her family and the village.

Thus, by default, The Archers is the act of taking an overdose as a potential solution to the problems of growing up. It is a shame that an opportunity to be educative on the important matter of teenage self-harm is being wasted.

Make money with your home computer

Most of us invest in a personal computer to make our lives easier. To help with finances and correspondence perhaps. It may be an educational tool for children or simply provide amusement with fun games and puzzles. But now there is another far more rewarding way to use your home computer...

Act of mercy

NOT too long ago I attended a study visit Coventry Garden of Katy Kabanov (A Traveller's Tale, January 11). We learnt that in order for Trevor Nunn to have authenticity in one act with a real old wooden cart and a large old cart-horse, the stage had to be reinforced at enormous cost...

I saw Chinese orphans abused

LAST YEAR, while living in a study visit Coventry Garden of Katy Kabanov (A Traveller's Tale, January 11). I visited an orphanage over a period of four months and saw devastating signs of maltreatment and neglect (Mystery of the 'missing' orphans, January 10).

Chains shame

WE HAVE come a long way from the situation four years ago, when most pregnant women imprisoned in Holloway were allowed temporary release to attend antenatal classes at the Whittington Hospital to improve their confidence and self-esteem...

Notes on counting sheep

I WAS interested in your Past Notes on counting sheep (January 9). My grandmother, who was born in the 1840s, used to recite: "Ane, tane, ethom, fethery, fip, dessey, dosey, messey, coesey, dick, leeco, seeco, coco, moco, bumpit..."

Must I be an expert?

It really doesn't matter if you don't know a lot about computers, because there are plenty (almost too many!) 'ready made' programmes already on the market... most of them with built-in instructions, covering just about every and every computer job you are likely to encounter in your new business.

A Country Diary

MACHYNYLLETH: If, all day Tuesday, I was deep in one of the greater conifer plantations hereabouts, it was because all day Monday it had rained. We may not always enjoy so much rain in one day but it is very good for waterfalls and on Tuesday that was what my walk was all about...

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# Genes for sale - but whose DNA is it anyway?

Life is money. Or so it seems, as European and American researchers fight over patents for genes that may hold the key to the treatment of major diseases and thus be worth billions to the drug companies. **TIM RADFORD reports**

**L**IFE is what you make of it, then very shortly the fashionable thing to make of life will be money. Life is ordered by DNA, but the research costs dollars and deutschmarks and, in the end, investors and taxpayers want their pound of flesh.

The latest flurry in the who-owns-humanity show is about a gene called BRCA2. This is responsible for about 1,800 of the 4,000 deaths from hereditary breast cancer in Britain each year, including, unusually, about 100 men and researchers in the US and Britain are caught up in a patent battle.

The gene was found by the Institute of Cancer Research in Sutton, Surrey, with money provided by the Cancer Research Campaign. The CRC has applied for patents on the gene, covering the future development of diagnostic

tests. But the British scientists had originally been collaborating with a team from Utah who founded a company called Myriad.

The partnership broke up when the Utah end of the alliance applied for a patent on the first breast cancer gene BRCA1 and the British scientists felt they should not. To make things even more confusing, the Utah team are trying to patent BRCA2 in the US, claiming that they found it. No, say the British researchers, Sutton got there first.

But whose knowledge is it anyway? The race to decipher the entire human blueprint - two billion bits of DNA, 100,000 genes, and 10,000 genes implicated in human suffering - involves universities, governments, charities and drug companies from 20 nations, working in co-operation.

When the race began, the position was clear: knowledge was for everybody, exploitation was for afterwards. But soon it became clear that whoever had knowledge could sit on it and have a head start when it came to cashing in. European scientists have one philosophy, and the European Patent Office has one set of rules. American scientists have mixed feelings, but the US biotechnology companies don't, and they have recourse to the US Patent Office, which has a different set of rules anyway. So a clash was coming.

There was another problem. BRCA2's discoverer, Dr Mike Stratton, put it neatly at the time that the two teams found BRCA1. Patents are for inventions which are both useful and novel. "We do not believe pieces of the human genome are inventions. We feel it is a form of colonisation to patent

them," he said. This view was not shared by his former research partners.

Nor was it shared, for instance, by Craig Venter of the US National Institutes of Health, who upset the research world earlier in the decade by trying to patent 35,000 lengths of DNA that could be used to "stick" to 35,000 genes and mark them for researchers. No one had a clue what these genes might do, but these special fragments would be part of the knowledge - and part of the exploitation. He joined a commercial company and now says that anyone who wants them for research can have them - but if that researcher comes up with a test or treatment for a disease, money must be discussed.

Something like this was coming anyway. The Imperial Cancer Research Fund - a

big player in the hunt for the entire human genetic code, and a player too in the hunt for both the BRCA1 and BRCA2 genes - doesn't squabble with the notion that someone, somewhere, must use the knowledge to devise therapies for inherited illnesses. A successful treatment could take 10 years and cost \$400 million to develop. "If you want to get knowledge about a disease translated into benefits for people you have two options," said an ICRF spokesman. "One is a totalitarian state, and the other is a pharmaceutical industry. Which would you rather have?"

Professor Gordon McVie of the CRC says, "At the moment, it is a mess. There seems to be no clear European position. There is a very clear American position, there is no dispute about that. The question is whether homo sapiens is to

be an American property. The view of our patent advisers is that it could take years before any of these patents go through all the legal procedures. In the meantime, they hope the European and American views will be reconciled and there will be a world position on who owns the human genome."

There needs to be. Biotechnological life - sheep with human hormones, pigs with cotton which will survive weedkiller sprays, superalmond, slow-ripening bananas, artificial human skin - is on the way. Billions have been invested, but so far almost the only fruit on the market is a tomato which ripens without going squishy. Everybody wants to know what the ground rules should be.

In the case of human genetic research, it is even more

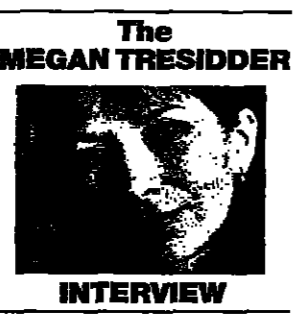
important. It now seems clear that not just cystic fibrosis and Huntington's chorea but propensities to most cancers, to stroke, to heart disease, even to athlete's foot, may depend on the genetic package each of us is born with. The research is not even primarily about money. It is about suffering.

It began because scientists wanted to do something to help families who suffered from hereditary diseases. But that meant basic research, and biology doesn't get more basic than the DNA code. Researchers everywhere began sharing the results, not just with each other, but with anyone who asked. The knowledge was built, bottom up, by people who weren't thinking of money. But drug companies think of almost nothing else, which is why the research is heading for crisis.

Professor McVie thinks the answer will be provided by the politicians. "There is a view that all the genetic sequences should be made available as fast as possible and the patents people should set their mind to how they can still allow patenting of use of the sequences."

This would give the commercial firms the incentive they needed. The breast cancer genes could turn out to be implicated in other cancers as well - prostate, ocular melanoma etc. Megabucks beckon. Professor McVie and the Cancer Research Campaign are just as interested as Myriad in making money from the research. "The difference being that the money coming to the Cancer Research Campaign goes straight back into science," he says. "That going to Myriad goes to its shareholders."

**Alastair Little is the original celebrity chef. Last week saw the opening of the self-taught maestro's new London restaurant**



INTERVIEW



I'm fed up with ladies who pick' chef of chefs, Alastair Little DAVID SILLITOE

## Cream of the chefs goes for cheap chic

**C**HEFS. Pretty straightforward subjects, really. There is, you would have thought, little mystery about what they do. Chefs cook. They may also appear on TV, write recipe books, and take offence at diners who ask for ketchup but, most of all, they cook.

Not any more. Before the revolution in British eating, chefs always cooked, doing it discreetly behind the kitchen's swinging doors. Then, in the early eighties, a number of bright young cooks emerged from their kitchens in their offal-stained aprons to preach liberation from the hegemony of stuffy, grande cuisine. They so tingled our palates that we cried out for more and the new chef-stars started to spread their influence, opening new restaurants alongside their original ones. And, since a chef cannot be in two kitchens at once, the word chef - when applied to a celebrity chef - has had to be redefined. A famous chef cooks, but not necessarily at the restaurant where you have gone to honour him. If a famous chef's "signature" dish appears on the menu, be warned: it may well be a lithograph.

Alastair Little is the original celebrity chef. When he opened Alastair Little's in Frith Street, Soho, in 1986, he was the first to put his own name above the door. With its

minimalist interior, and eclectic post-modern menu, it was a hit - and widely copied. Now, Little has just opened his second restaurant, near where he lives, in Notting Hill Gate. It is a relatively modest expansion (Anthony Worrall Thompson has four restaurants, at the last count) but only Little calls both restaurants after himself, which takes chutzpah.

On the day of our meeting, Kirsten Bedersen, one of his business partners and formerly his personal partner by whom he has two children, is also there. So too is Little's head chef, Toby Gush. A knife grinder wanders in looking for business. Little tells him he doesn't want his knives ground, thanks. The grinder presses him. "Do you use someone else then, or do you just not bother?"

It is like asking the Pope whether he bothers to pray. Little, everyone agrees, has had a huge influence on restaurants with his intellectually curious approach to food and his clean, precise style. He didn't get to be called the "Godfather of modern British cooking" for not bothering about his knives.

He does not look much like a chef. He is thin, 45, with a faint Lancashire accent, and reminiscent of Kenny Everett with his beard and high-pitched giggle. He has to manoeuvre himself into his seat with the

help of a walking stick after a fall down stairs last summer left him with a broken heel (which explains his absence from the kitchen for the past six months, although his critics had been complaining of it well before). He is a likeable and open character, free of the pretensions of some famous chefs. A self-taught cook, he was never formally apprenticed, which may help account for his reputation as a paragon among chef-bosses, in an industry notorious for its brutal hierarchy and kitchen bullies.

There is just one fly in the soup of staff relations. When his first cookbook, *Keep It Simple*, was published three years ago, Little was accused by his own head-chef, Juliet Peston, of plagiarising her recipes. She had been at Frith Street for seven years until being made redundant, shortly before the book came out. "My cooking is rarely acknowledged as having contributed to Alastair's success," she said at the time. "The professional whose name is above the door gets the credit."

"The spat over the book was unfortunate and not entirely fair," he says. "Juliet is a very talented cook and she had an input and I credited her in the introduction. But it's hard to say who was responsible for what. There was a deep-fried pigeon that went back and forth between us in about

seven different incarnations... Anyway, it's all water under the bridge."

Peston agrees, sort of. She's back working for Little at Frith Street, in command of the restaurant. "We get on really well," she says, "but this is my kitchen. I won't stay here on any other basis and he knows that." Though the place is still named after him, "it's the same throughout the profession," she says, "though I do think it is perhaps a mistake to call the new restaurant, Alastair Little."

Unless Little plans to be full-time chef there, "Doubt it," says Little. "I've got two kitchens to run." He pauses, to redefine the word "run". "Well, I've got two chefs. Juliet is pretty well in charge at Frith Street. It's her head and heally. And here I've got Toby Gush. He is the chef. I fancy doing the salad section or something." Otherwise, he says, his role is supervisory.

The new restaurant will offer a cheaper meal than at Frith Street - £20 for three courses. The idea, says Little, is to provide simple, homely food (scallops with lentils, salt cod, crostini of lamb's brains "cod BSE," says Little). The idea of the set-meal is also to inhibit customers from indulging in the increasingly common practice of eating two starters. "I am fed up with ladies who pick, like a certain princess who orders two salads and a bottle of mineral water and the bill is something like £2."

His prices have had a certain notoriety. In the late eighties, his restaurant was renowned for what reviewers called a bold pricing policy, with meals costing from £40 a head. "We charged what we had to, to keep going. There were high overheads. And, I suppose, I had a bit of an inflated ego. People were saying the food was great. There just didn't seem to be anything Juliet and I could not do."

Now, at Frith Street, the set price is £25, though with drink and coffee, it gets higher. "The average spend," says Little, "is about £38 which is fine."

It's still a lot. How does he justify the price?

"About 25 per cent of the net is wages. Your rent is about 10 per cent. The food and wine cost is 35 per cent. So that's 70 per cent. Then you have to take your money, pay for cleaning materials and so on. You probably make 8 to 10 per cent in a good year. I don't think that's a lot of profit."

Little, the son of a naval officer, was a child of the years BP (before polenta), when no one ever used the word foodie. His mother liked to experiment with dishes discovered on holiday ("she would come back from Spain and make gazpacho - probably the only one at the time in Lancashire") but he was most inspired, he says, "by greed and by realising that there must be something more than

"I couldn't stomach school food. So by the age of 12, I was obsessed with what we were having for dinner"

school food, which I couldn't stomach. By the age of 12, I was obsessed with what we were having for dinner."

He studied archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge, though he spent his spare time with his Elizabeth David, making lavish dinners for his friends, the only student worrying about his real stock. After graduating, he flirted briefly with a career in film editing but his evening job as a waiter took over.

These were the days when the King-pins in the kitchens were twice his age, generally French and steeped in tradition - including the dubious practice of recycling vegetables from customers' plates or deep-frying rack of lamb when time was short. He shudders at

Advertisement

**"Between a third and a half of all cancers are caused by eating the wrong types of food"**

**Food for Thought**

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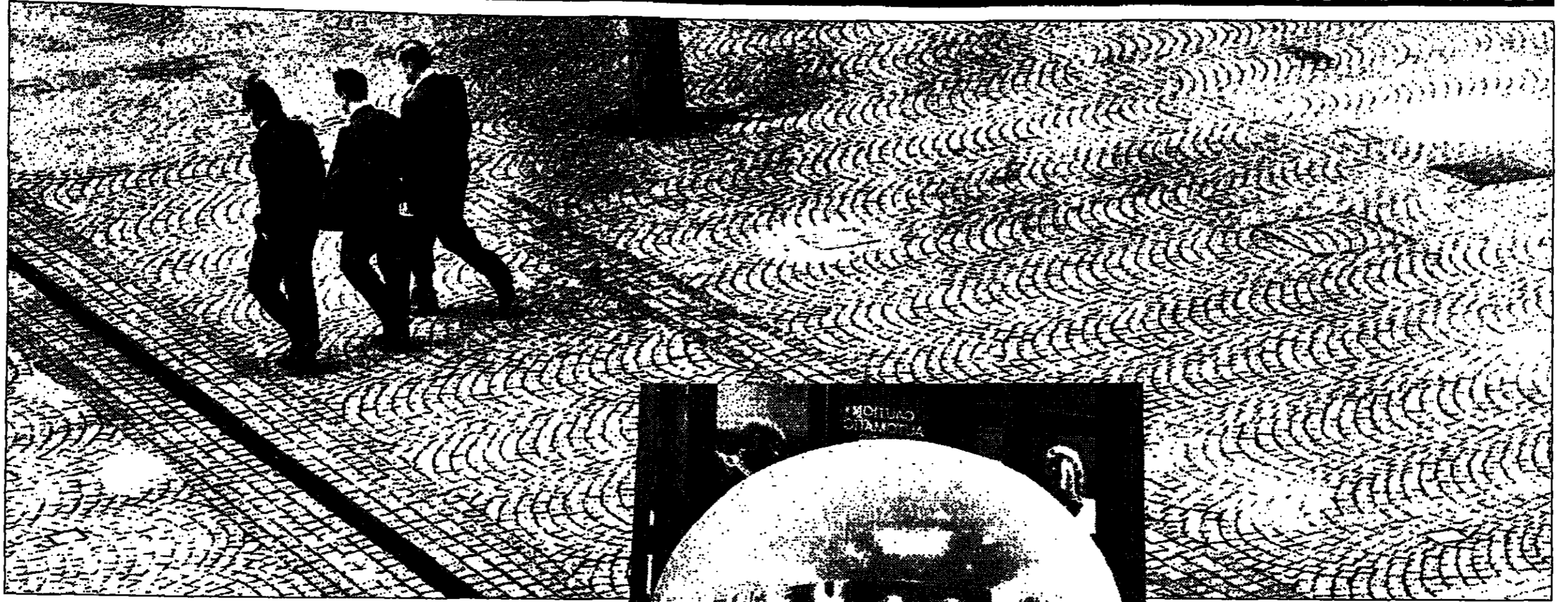
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Think of Cézanne?  
art?



The city centre, long the focus of social, public and commercial activity, has been drained of life – a process which, DEYAN SUDJIC argues, proposed solutions seem unlikely to change

# Can we fix this hole at the heart of our cities?

**P**ROVIDED you ignore the boarded up shop windows and the bedraggled figures selling the Big Issue, the architecture of Britain's town centres looks much as it did 20 years ago. There has been nothing like the invasion of shopping malls, multi-storey car parks and crude new office buildings that wreaked so much havoc in the 1960s. Conservation has stopped the tidal wave of demolition; facades at least are all but unscathed now. Appearances, however, are seriously misleading. The fact that nothing new is happening in the city centre is a sign not of stability but that the action has moved elsewhere. Behind the carefully preserved crust of stone and brick, the town centre is threatened by the greatest challenge it has ever had to face. The 1960s may have left it looking uglier, but at least it still had a clear purpose. The city then was still the centre of social life, the place in which institutions naturally gathered, where ambitious corporations believed they had to have their headquarters, even if they built them in Brutalist style. They were where we all looked for the kind of public life that gives cities their special quality: exotic food stores, specialist book-shops, and the chance meetings and random, unexpected social accidents of urban life. They

were characterised by the café and the court house as well as the cinema and the university. The city centre was also the place that could accommodate the awkward, not always very picturesque aspects of urban reality that suburbs find too uncomfortable to deal with — the homeless, the sex industry, the subculture of the gay life, of immigrants and drugs. New patterns of urban life are bypassing them altogether. The changes, social as well as technological, of the 1980s are threatening their very existence. Cash dispensers and telephone banking are making marble banking halls redundant, just as our loss of faith has left the churches empty and our changing tastes in alcohol threaten the survival of the traditional pub. Most of us now live miles away from anything remotely recognisable as a traditional city — a fact that has deeply disturbed the Campaign for the Preservation of Rural England. The majority of new housing is being built not on derelict inner city sites, but in and around the green belt. And these new homes, typically planned with no provision for public transport, are utterly dependent on the car. We shop in giant ex-urban shopping centres, not corner shops, whose role the filling station is doing its best to usurp. The decision in the late 1980s by the big retailers — Marks & Spencer, Sainsbury

and Tesco — to concentrate their investment in giant stores, where customers can park at ground level, had enormous consequences for the future of the city. Meanwhile, BAA — which now makes more money as a retailer than it does out of the airlines — is presenting Heathrow as the ideal family shopping location. As people increasingly stay away, so the economic cycle which is undermining the future of the city centre takes a further, and more vicious turn. It is seen as squalid, and potentially dangerous, a place to be endured, or even avoided, rather than a glamorous attraction. More and more of our work in business parks — landscaped campuses close to airports, or motorways. There may be a squash court, and a health club, but walking to the shops, or the pub at lunch time is out of the question. We amuse ourselves at far flung multiplex cinemas. Even hospitals and government buildings are vanishing, leaving an empty stage in frantic search of a plausible future. Too many responses to these challenges are no more than attempts to apply sticking plaster remedies to life-threatening wounds. The same tired old attempt to camouflage structural decay with a cosmetic dusting of granite cobbles, bollards made from recycled railway sleepers, and hanging baskets of flowers are still being trotted out. Worst of all is pedestrianisation, which

in many cases does more harm than good. Excluding the car robs the sense of life, and activity that is essential to keep cities buzzing, and turns them instead into a gratingly artificial environment. The problems can only become more acute and pressing. John Gummer is trying to shut the stable door after the bolted horse of hypermarket shopping as if our experiences were unique. But Britain is simply further down the same road than most European countries are following. Why should Gummer succeed in turning the tide where every kind of economy and political system has failed? And for that matter what is a government so committed to the idea of the supremacy of the market that it is prepared to privatise the prisons doing trying to dictate where we can buy frozen chicken? Certainly it is true that most cities in Britain — and for that matter in western Europe — are losing population. They are

spreading themselves out in thinner and thinner layers across a wider and wider area. Even if Gummer could find a convincing justification for halting new out-of-town shopping centres, the price of keeping retailing in the city centre might just prove to be its destruction. To tempt the big commercial names back, parking on the same scale they can offer out of town to soothe the fears of commuters terrified by stories of muggers will have to be made available. And cities are going to have to be re-shaped to make room for the giant boxes that retailers demand. The conventional commercial solution to the problem of this decline is the unsunged high street, that is to say an attempt to run a city centre as if it were an enclosed mall — which is all very well, but presupposes the survival of city centre retailing. Those retailers that have a chance of survival there will cater to the market's extremes. Every-

thing in between will sooner rather than later disappear. At one end are the new generation of bargain basement groceries offering baked beans rather than kiwi fruit, that cater for those too poor, or too reckless to get to the big supermarkets. At the other end are two more specialised and opulent luxury stores. Retailing of this kind is becoming ever more like an offshoot of the entertainment industry. Harrods is already a place that people go to videotape each other buying the groceries that they could get back home because it has skillfully turned itself into an event. Now the Disney and Warner stores blend merchandise with entertainment. Nor is the hypermarket the only pressure eroding the vitality of the old city centre. It is calculated by some analysts that shopping via the Internet will spell the end for something up to one third of existing high street shops before the next century gets into

Pedestrianisation in many cases does more harm than good. And the 'cappuccino culture' turns the city into a playground for those affluent enough to afford its attractions. PHOTOGRAPHS: CHRIS THOMSON (above), DON MCFEE

its stride. Some urban strategists are attempting to follow through the logic of the information revolution, and thinking about ways in which technology could be used to reinforce the urbanity of a city in which a substantial percentage of the population is able to work from home. They envisage neighbourhood classrooms linked electronically with others or clubs and cafes with the same facilities, mixing both computer and physical contact. But despite these optimistic predictions, the logic of events is still pushing many British cities down the same path taken by America, where some cities have lost half their population in a decade. In Houston, even the Salvation Army has relocated to suburban shopping malls, leaving the streets to the sad, and the mad. Some American downtowns are even beginning to welcome factory outlet stores as a sign of hope. Actually, there is evidence that land values have fallen so low that there is nothing to stop the centre of a city becoming the same kind of formless desert as its periphery. With the old city in its death throes, a new kind has begun to take its place. Tourism, services, leisure and the arts are the usual mantras, repeated endlessly by those charged with finding solutions. But not every city centre can become a tourist hangout. And even those that do don't always relish the experience. It's a dubious fate that has already overtaken many: central Edinburgh looks overflowing with life in the short Scots summer, but how many of the people crowding Princes Street will be there for longer than three days? And can an economy based on stand-up comedy, the tattoo, and shortbread sustain the city throughout the year? And there is far worse. After six o'clock, the centre of York is as quiet as a theme park whose gates have been locked for the night.

Walk around Windsor on a summer weekend, and you find yourself in a world which exists solely to cater for people who never spend more than a few hours in the place. To buy everyday necessities you have to drive to the shopping sheds of Slough. Windsor's high street contains only fast-food restaurants to feed the hordes who have just finished the tour of the castle. Groups of Italians, Spaniards and Americans cross and recross on their way from Plaza Espinosa in Madrid, and attempting in vain to stave off that sense of emptiness which comes from the realisation that travel and movement cannot provide more than a temporary distraction. These are places which have lost the sense of vitality, but they are at least economically success-

ful. The response to those cities that have rebuilt themselves through the process usually referred to as gentrification — the so-called cappuccino culture that has breathed new life into the old centre of Glasgow, more patchily in Liverpool, and to parts of central London — has been even more ambiguous. This goes far beyond the conversion of dull working class pubs into brasseries, and the substitution of exotic bottled beers from Mexico and China for real ale. It represents the conversion of the city into a playground for those affluent enough to afford its attractions, the creation of a city whose main purpose is the consumption, rather than the creation, of wealth. It is an economy based on the taking in of each other's washing, writ large. And it presupposes streets entirely devoted to hairdressers, bistros and expensive clothes shops. Judging by the epidemic of ever larger new restaurants that Britain is building, eating out has turned into its last remaining heavy industry. But while this future for the city may ensure its continuing survival, it brings with it the potential destruction of its traditional meaning, through an ever-sharper social segregation.

**T**HE city centre was once shared by every group in the community, and the exclusive preserve of none — look for example at the way that Belfast's centre was neutral ground during the troubles, while the security fences separating working class suburb from the rest. In future it looks as if the city centre will become ever more narrowly divided turf. There will be areas visited only by tourists, others that are the preserve of the very young, or gays, or office workers with no interaction between them. The fad for loft life for example while it may fill empty urban buildings, is a pursuit enjoyed by the children already being soaked up by the remains of the Victorian workshops. Now the redundant office buildings of the 1960s are being co-opted too, as white collar jobs follow blue collar jobs to oblivion. In place of ragged working communities is a homogenous residential area. In London the old Soho was raffish, down at heel, and sometimes squalid, but it was a centre for both the young and the old, criminals, and affluent diners. The new one is a thriving, but increasingly narrowly defined gay community. It is this atomisation that perhaps represents the greatest threat to the future of the city, and it is the one for which there are as yet no answers.



## JOHN EZARD on Quiller's last Moscow mission, which brings to an end an era of great British bestseller writing

### Heroes left out in the cold

**T**HE author Ellston Trevor stopped dictating, then turned very slowly to his son Jean-Pierre, who was at his bedside on his Arizona ranch, and said, "That's it." Jean-Pierre burst into tears. He mumbled something and went into his father's study, looked at the street map of Moscow, the interrogation manual and the old, already dusty, typewriter. Then he went into the living-room and told Trevor's second wife, Chantal, the good news. The novel was finished. Next day Ellston Trevor alias Adam Hall and five other



Ellston Trevor: lived just long enough to finish novel

pen names, last and among the most illustrious of the war generation of best-selling British storytellers, died peacefully, aged 75. That was last July. For two years he had suffered from the cancer that took his first wife, Joni, in 1986. Laser treatment might have beaten it. But that would have disrupted his iron routine. Instead, he ransacked meditation and alternative medicine. Unlike his most famous creation, the little spy Quiller, he had found an enemy against which strategy and willpower were of no avail. But he died a true, obsessive writer's death. It

irked him on his death bed that his last Quiller was 30 pages short. So, with his son's help, and between comas, he completed it. The fruit of this work, *Quiller Balalaika*, which pits his spy against the Russian Mafia, is published by Headline on Thursday. It has a few

loose ends he would have edited, given time. But the final 30 pages are as good as the first, with the usual stomach-coiling tension and the old noir eloquence that put him second only to Le Carré. The book effectively closes an era. Trevor was by no means the only obsessive high seller of his generation; Alastair Maclean drank himself to death striving to maintain his status long after his hair had gone; Ian Fleming went over the edge trying to live as youthfully as Bond. But Quiller lasted 11 novels longer than Bond. His creator was the arch-survivor of a lost age of literature general public fiction. The names of Ellston Trevor's contemporaries and near-contemporaries were legion: the Brits alone included Nigel Balchin, Nevill Shute, H E Bates, Geoffrey Household, Eric Ambler, Hammond Innes, Marjory Allingham, R F Delderfield, Frank Tibbels, Warwick Deep-

## The Book of the Week

**The Regeneration Trilogy**  
The Ghost Road, part three in the Regeneration Trilogy, won Pat Barker the Booker Prize in 1995. Her touch is deft but delicate, her compassion strong. She sees war and the casualties of war with clarity and power. Her passages in *Shovelhead* show a wonderful power. Margaret Forster

Prices per book:  
 Regeneration £6.99  
 The Eye in the Door £6.99  
 The Ghost Road £15.00  
 All three saving £38.00 £22.98  
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# Money Guardian

## Farewell mutual friends

### Now Woolwich joins rush to become a bank

Teresa Hunter and Cliff Jones

**T**HE Woolwich's 3.5 million members will be congratulating themselves this weekend for "winning" big bonuses after backing the right horse in the building society conversion race.

But a closer study of the Woolwich blueprint for becoming a bank could show that they have gained less than they hoped. Many Woolwich customers do not hold the necessary accounts to qualify as "members", and many other customers opened accounts too late to qualify.

Long-term Woolwich savers, who liquidated their nest-eggs to buy Woolwich life and unit trust investments — which do not qualify for shares — will be particularly aggrieved.

Most angry of all will be the Tessa savers who changed institutions when their Tessas matured on January 1, thereby foregoing what will undoubtedly be a very substantial Woolwich bonus.

Savers and borrowers will each receive a fixed package of shares of around £750, provided they had £100 in their accounts at the end of last year. Those with larger accounts will receive an additional pay-out based on the size of the balance, provided they have held their accounts for two years.

Members who are both savers and borrowers can receive two flat-rate distributions, al-

### Next in line

**Alliance & Leicester  
Nationwide  
Bristol & West  
B'ham Midshires  
Chelsea**

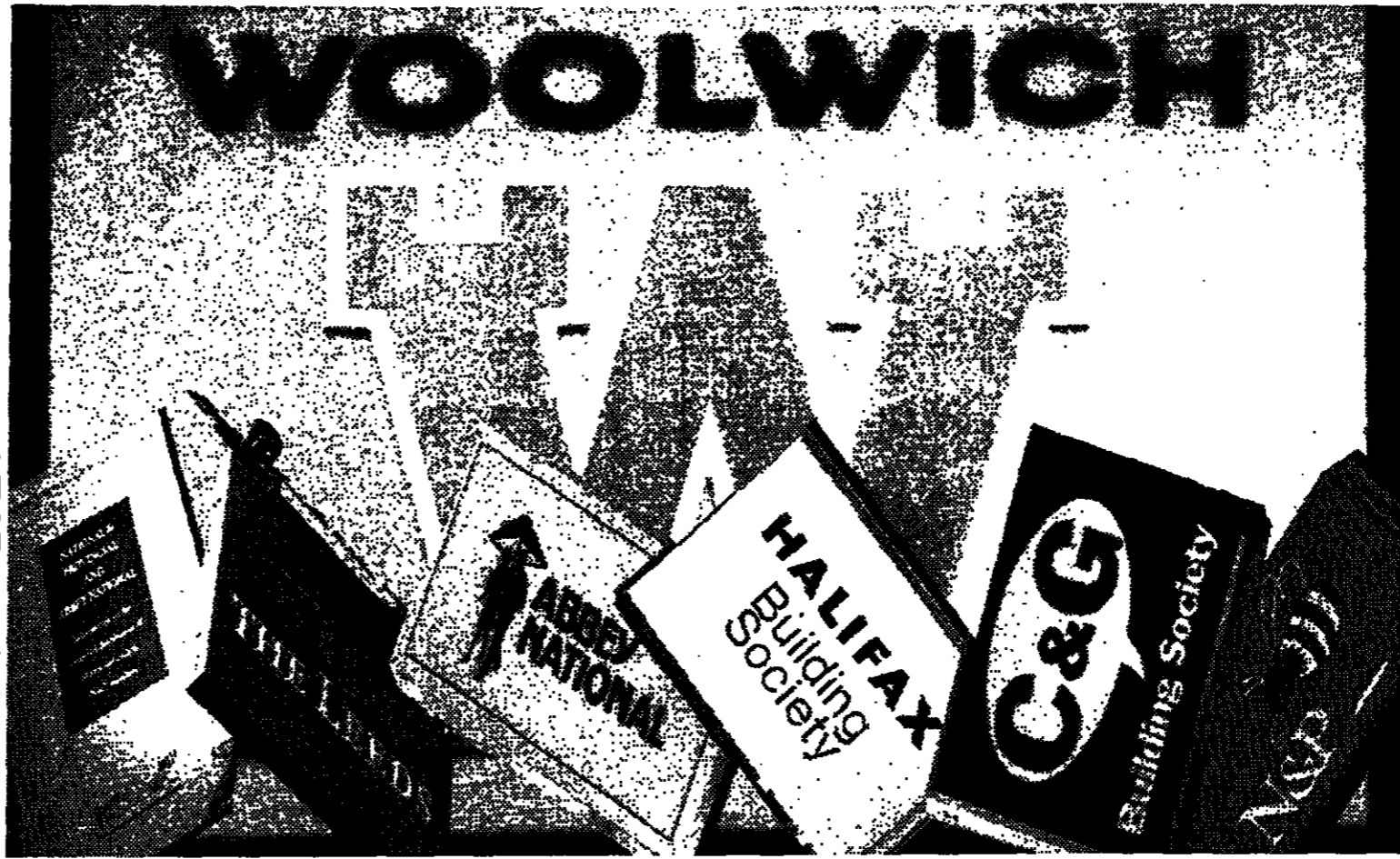
though members with several savings accounts only qualify once. However, their balances will be aggregated when calculating the variable giveaway.

To its credit, the Woolwich has tried to be fair to customers caught straddling the deadline. It will give shares to anyone who received a mortgage offer before the key deadline, provided it is accepted within three months, and the purchase is subsequently completed.

Similarly, Tessa funds which were transferred into a Woolwich Pep or guaranteed income bond by members who maintained their membership through another account will be taken into consideration when calculating shares.

Where their membership was terminated by the transfer, the customer can rejoin by switching funds back before January 23.

Untouched Tessas were automatically reinvested in a Prime Gold account. Woolwich's second-issue Tessas allow investors to tie up only £9,000. Investors should keep the additional interest in another qualifying saving account. But while busy counting their winnings, customers



All change... The Woolwich is the latest in a long line of building societies to make a switch

ILLUSTRATION: JOHN WORMLEY

should spare a thought for what will be lost when the Woolwich becomes a bank. It would be wrong to characterise building societies, which continue to repossess about 1,000 homes a week, as philanthropic organisations.

Nevertheless, the fact that they are owned, not by shareholders, but by their customers, has served borrowers and savers better than they might otherwise have been. Despite

odd lapses, the Woolwich has been a good example of all that is worthwhile about mutual ownership.

Next year all that will change. The Halifax, Woolwich and probably the Alliance & Leicester will go to the stock market. Others, including the Bristol & West, Birmingham Midshires and Chelsea, may be taken over. The National & Provincial is to be sold to the Abbey National.

This effective privatisation of the industry fits well with the Government's deregulation drive.

Whether it will fit so well with the customers' interests remains to be seen. Building societies never envisaged the wholesale selling of their industry when they asked for the right to convert. The original request was born from a desire to protect the industry's good name — not

destroy it. The industry wanted the 1986 Building Societies Act to allow conversions so that businesses which were bringing societies into disrepute could be kicked out of the sector.

Similarly, an escape route was thought necessary to dispose of a crashed society which no other society was prepared to rescue. Conversion would allow it to be taken over by another organisation.

But it is not too late for members who look to their societies for more than a quick buck to hang on to their heritage. The Halifax, N&P and Woolwich deals are not yet in the bag.

In the coming months, nearly 15 million members will get the chance to vote on the future of their society.

Money Guardian was edited by Teresa Hunter this week

### When the float comes in

**H**OLDERS of membership accounts, including mortgages, will benefit from free shares in the new Woolwich plc when it floats on the stock market next year if they held at least £100 in a membership account or had at least £100 mortgage debt on December 31, 1995.

If they continue to hold the account or borrow until the date of the flotation they are eligible to vote on the flotation.

### Who qualifies

- Holders of:
- Share accounts
  - Prime Gold
  - Premier 90
  - Tessas
  - Woolwich for Kids
  - Woolwich investment bonds
  - Premier Investment
  - Prime accounts
  - Guaranteed Premium Share
  - Capital account
  - Supershare
  - Town & Country account
  - Super 60
  - Super 90 (Types A-D)
  - Fixed-rate bonds
  - Seven-day accounts
  - 28-day accounts
  - Monthly income shares
  - Cashbase
  - Sharesave accounts
  - Save as you earn
  - All mortgages

### Who doesn't

- Holders of:
- AVCs
  - Deposit accounts
  - Unsecured personal loans
  - Woolwich Life accounts
  - Insurance products
  - Unit trusts
  - Peps
  - Current accounts

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City poised for revolution as institutions given a month to back introduction of order-driven share trading

# Deadline set for Big Bang 2

Patrick Donovan  
City Editor

**T**HE City is facing its biggest revolution since the market's 1986 "Big Bang" after the Stock Exchange yesterday gave the entire financial community just over a month to decide whether to back the introduction of order-driven share trading.

John Kemp-Welch, the exchange's chairman, set the clock running as he unveiled a restructuring of the share market to bring it into line with its main European competitors.

The consultative programme is being seen as a last-ditch attempt to win back the City's confidence which has been badly dented by the recent sackings of the exchange's former chief executive, Michael Lawrence.

Mr Lawrence was ousted last week after it became clear that he had lost the backing of his fellow board directors and major market practitioners because of his management style and failure to consult on the proposed reforms.

But the exchange yesterday insisted that its plans to restructure the market remain unaffected by Mr Lawrence's departure.

The market has been given until February 17 to submit its views on three proposed changes to restructure its trading system. The aim is to introduce an order-driven capacity to the London market, whereby traders post bid and offers of share stakes they want to trade.

The objective is to add this to the exchange's existing quote-driven system which entails market makers posting up the price at which they are prepared to deal in a share.

Options being considered include:

- An order-driven system for all stocks, providing that higher-risk, larger deals, or block trades, can be dealt separately by telephone;
- An order book for some stocks and a quote book for others; and

● A hybrid quote and order book for some or all shares

Giles Vardey, the exchange's director of market developments, said that it was sending out questionnaires to all participants and would aim to decide on March 21. It would be ready to start the new look market on August 27 when new computer systems come on stream.

Mr Kemp-Welch said: "The introduction of new services will improve the structure and quality of UK equity trading markets."

He added that the changes were "essential to maintain our reputation as the market of choice".

Early market soundings suggested that many leading

City players are anxious that the situation should be resolved. But one senior source warned that combining quote and order-driven systems could prove to be unworkable. He suggested that dealing for a totally order-driven market, with separate options for block trades, would be the preferred option for many of the larger players.

A spokesman for the Japanese bank, Nomura, said the situation had yet to be fully considered. But he added: "Electronic order-driven systems are the way of the future". He pointed out that this was the way that trade was carried out in most of the main overseas markets.

NatWest Markets said: "We are not against the principle of order-driven markets". But the spokeswoman said that it had not finished evaluating the options which were on offer.

David Jones, chief executive of Sharelink, the private clients dealings service, said last night: "We are interested in considering the proposals very carefully. But we do consider that the introduction of an order-driven market is in the best interests of individual shareholders."

Other major broking firms — including SBC Warburg, Merrill Lynch and BZW — declined to comment on the grounds that they had yet to consider the proposals thoroughly.

Robinson accuses bid target of mischief-making ● Granada signs £100m TV deal

## Whitbread seeks support for Forte

Ian King

**W**HITBREAD, the brewing and restaurants group, is set to embark on a road-show of City institutions next week in a last-ditch effort to press them into supporting Forte, which is resisting a £3.8 billion bid from Granada.

Whitbread has reached an agreement to buy Forte's Welcome Break, Happy Eater and Little Chef chains for £1.05 billion — a figure that is regarded by analysts as a bargain price — if Granada's bid fails.

If Granada wins, however, Whitbread comes away with nothing, and for that reason, the brewer is anxious to ensure a Forte victory.

Earlier this week, Whitbread denied it was talking to Granada about the possibility of buying the Welcome Break chain in the event of a Granada victory. While Whitbread will be meeting only its own major shareholders, many of them will also own substantial stakes in Forte.

A spokesman said: "Whitbread has entered into a conditional agreement for a deal worth over £1 billion, and so of course we are going to talk to our shareholders — it's common courtesy."

Meanwhile, Forte yesterday returned to the offensive, claiming that Granada had miscalculated the tax implications of its proposed give-away to shareholders.

Forte said that Granada, which has promised to pay a 47p special dividend to shareholders if its £3.8 billion bid for Forte is successful, had structured its plans in such a way that it risked breaking Inland Revenue rules.

Forte said it would be asking the Inland Revenue to "give its views on matters", and said it had been advised that "on a balance of probability", it expected the Revenue to rule against Granada.

Announcing the move, Forte's finance director, Keith Hamill, said: "The tax issues arising from the type of proposals made by Granada are complex and difficult, and there is unfortunately substantial scope for serious errors — particularly under the unusual pressures involved in making a hostile, leveraged bid with limited information."

However, Granada dismissed Forte's tax claims, insisting it had taken professional advice before announcing the dividend.

Granada said it expected to minimise any tax liabilities it faced as a result of either the takeover or the dividend, and said that on that basis, the tax consequences would be "insignificant".

Chief executive Gerry Robinson added: "This is nothing more than mischief-making by Forte. We think that their hysterical attempt to deprive their own shareholders of the tax benefits of our offer is unedifying."

Granada also received a boost yesterday from leading City stockbroker NatWest Securities, which, in a research note, recommended Forte shareholders to accept Granada's offer.

Shareholders must make their minds up by January 23.

ITV network keeps Coronation Street and The Bill

**G**RANADA and Pearson yesterday signed deals thought to be worth £100 million which will keep two of ITV's most popular shows, Coronation Street and The Bill, on the ITV network for at least two years.

The deal ends months of speculation that The Bill, which is made by Pearson's Thames Television subsidiary, or Coronation Street,



Life with the Duckworths... Jack and Vera will continue to battle on ITV

## Grid chiefs' £1.5m perk revives windfall row

**S**imon Beavis  
Industrial Editor

**T**HE row over boardroom greed in the privatised utilities erupted again last night after the National Grid quietly unveiled a share option scheme from which four top directors stand to make £1.5 million — up to 40 per cent more than under an earlier perks package.

Shadow chancellor Gordon Brown said it was new proof that the Government had failed to stamp out excessive pay and perks in privatised companies.

The new share option scheme was put in place to take account of the capital restructuring of the grid just before its flotation last month. Under the new package,

which is made by Granada, were set to go to other channels.

It had been rumoured that BSkyB — in which Granada holds an 11 per cent stake — was interested in Coronation Street, while the new Channel 5 — in which Pearson is a shareholder — and the BBC were both reportedly interested in The Bill.

However, under the deal

signed yesterday, the Street, which celebrated its 35th anniversary last month, will stay with ITV for another two years, while The Bill, which regularly pulls in 15 million viewers, will stay until 2000.

The deal also covers the planned fourth weekly episode of Coronation Street, which is due to start this autumn.

## Argos adds to euphoria on high street

**R**oger Cowe

**B**OOMING Christmas sales at Argos have added to the evidence that high street spending is clawing its way out of the prolonged slump.

The catalogue chain said that sales in the five weeks to Christmas at stores which had been open in the previous year were 8 per cent higher. Including new stores, sales were 14 per cent higher than in 1994.

The figures continued the buoyant trend which Argos had seen throughout the autumn. The biggest sales increases came in furniture, bedding and leisure products.

● Publisher Hodder Headline, which campaigned against the Net Book Agreement, said its Christmas sales were 13 per cent higher than in 1994, taking the increase for the year to 10 per cent led by sales to supermarkets. The Christmas sales represented a bounce back after a poor third quarter.

chairman David Jefferies was last night sitting on a potential profit of just under £300,000 on a package of 418,880 shares granted as options and 44,211 shares granted under a share-scheme.

Most of the options are exercisable immediately, although for some he would have to wait until March next year.

Although the new scheme is supposed to mirror a package put in place before the capital shake-up of the grid, it will provide the directors with a bigger windfall. Mr Jefferies stands to make £169,000 more under the new scheme.

Three other directors are also in line for bigger pay-outs. Chief executive David Jones is sitting on a nominal profit of £243,371. Colin Gibson, power network director, £274,112, while finance direc-

tor Roger Uttley could net £382,593 at yesterday's market price for grid shares of 196p.

The new package flies in the face of one of the key recommendations of the Greenbury report on top pay, that directors should not be able to realise quick profits on options soon after flotation.

But a spokeswoman for the grid insisted that the scheme was only the reworking of a package put in place before the Greenbury recommendations were released.

She said that it was a normal capital restructuring which also took account of the sale of the grid's First Hydro pump storage power station business in North Wales for more than expected. Grid chiefs have, however, already received special dividends from that sale.

## Maxwell jury declines weekend off

**D**an Atkinson

**M**AXWELL trial jurors yesterday failed to reach a verdict after more than 34 hours' deliberation. They also did not respond to an invitation from the judge, Lord Justice Phillips, to inform him if they were hopelessly deadlocked.

The jury rejected as well his offer to take the weekend off; instead they asked to be allowed to work a shortened day today and, if no verdict has been reached, to take Sunday off. This was agreed.

Yesterday marked day 126 of the Maxwell trial, but the judge assured jurors they were under no time pressure.

Kevin Maxwell, aged 36, his brother Ian, aged 39, and former Maxwell aide Larry Trachtenberg, aged 42, deny conspiracy to defraud pension funds by misusing £22 million worth of shares in the Israeli company Teva. Kevin alone denies conspiring with his father to defraud the pension funds by misusing £10 million of shares in another Israeli company, Scitex.

## Troubleshooters for fragmented rail firms

**K**eith Harper  
Transport Editor

**T**HE Government is creating two new rail troubleshooters to adjudicate on legal disputes that are becoming more frequent in the industry, which is being broken up into more than 100 parts.

The move comes as it emerged last night that the banks have reservations about the flotation of Railtrack, the public company that now owns the stations and track.

Some banks have already gone cold on the sell-off of some smaller parts of the network. But doubts about the flotation of Railtrack, due in May, is a more serious matter. The Department of Transport

has written to nearly 30 banks worldwide inviting them to become involved. Each bank would be expected to underwrite part of the deal.

The trouble-shooting quango is the access disputes resolution committee, specifically to handle operators' grievances about track use, and the railway disputes resolution committee, for other matters. They will mediate between the 25 passenger operating companies and Railtrack, which is responsible for

infrastructure.

They will be run by chairmen with legal qualifications, whose salaries will be "subject to negotiation", but are expected to be in six figures.

Labour's Transport spokesman, Brian Wilson, said last night: "This confirms the impression of a fragmented railway to be run in the interests of lawyers. Ministers have realised that they need these committees in order to keep as many of the disputes as possible out of the courts."



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# Finance Guardian

**A lean, mean US weapons industry may soon be over here, taking European jobs, factories and exports. MARK TRAN in New York reports on the attackers. SIMON BEAVIS and MARK MILNER review the defence**

## Gunning for Europe

CUTS in Pentagon spending have led to a brutal contraction in the US defence industry, but the survivors stand to make handsome profits from what is still an \$80 billion (£32 billion) domestic market. Lockheed Martin certainly intends to stick around. It was already the world's largest defence company, the result of last year's merger between Lockheed and Martin Marietta. Now it is set to cement its number one position by acquiring Loral, the defence electronics company. The result will be a colossus with annual sales of \$30 billion.

Other American defence contractors are certain to react by forging alliances of their own. The consolidation is not over yet. At most, the industry may be two-thirds of the way through the process. By the next century, there will probably be three main American defence companies — Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman and McDonnell Douglas. Unless their European rivals can consolidate, these three will establish a stranglehold on the world's arms markets.



## History argues against united front

SHAREHOLDERS in British Aerospace have reason to be grateful to the US defence industry. Every time two of America's arms-makers merge, BAe's shares — only recently among the stock market's sluggards — soar.

\$9 billion acquisition of Loral. Expectations that Europe's defence groups will soon be forced down the same road to rationalisation and integration led to a flurry of rumours which has driven BAe shares up from 78p to 85p since the start of the year. The speculators may be jumping the gun. While industrialists see the necessity of integration, efforts by Europe's weapons-makers to pool resources have usually become bogged down by an excess of conflicting interests.

both economic policy and defence strategy. They are often big employers — even a much slimmer BAe employs 40,000 people — as well as big contributors to balances of payments. "Every new deal in the US increases the imperative on the Europeans to do something, but there are too many differing aspects — governments, cultures and borders. It's as difficult as monetary union," says Chris Avery, analyst with French investment bank Paribas.

space, in the same way that BAe emerged from the disparate UK aircraft-makers. For that reason, BAe has set its face against overtures from its largest national rival, GEC, about a merger — although rumours that Lord Weinstock is on the prowl again were circulating in the City this week. But BAe has been spectacularly unsuccessful in turning action into words. It failed to merge its missile business with Thomson CSF of France in the 1980s and has spent the past three years trying to do a mirror deal with Matra which is today stalled.

agreement to look to future aircraft designs with Dassault of France. Although talk of integration is often heard in the UK, the most successful moves have been on the Franco-German axis. Aeroespiale of France and Dasa of Germany already have a successful helicopter venture in Eurocopter. They have just announced plans of greater political togetherness. Europe's arms-makers cannot. Added to that they have had to cope with national defence and industrial policy which has been fickle.

UK ministers are now in two minds about an earlier commitment to try to promote industrial integration across Europe in arms purchases, even if it means subordinating the much-cherished policy of promoting competition. Recent indications are that the MoD, now under the free-marketier Michael Portillo, has a renewed taste for competition. For now, the focus is on Europe. But some doubters believe the hurdles are too high. So far, developments in America have been seen as a catalyst. But this week there has been intriguing talk that BAe is on the point of a transatlantic tie-up with McDonnell Douglas. It might, in the end, prove an easier way to go.

## 'Governments, cultures, borders: it's as difficult as monetary union'

ularly unsuccessful in turning action into words. It failed to merge its missile business with Thomson CSF of France in the 1980s and has spent the past three years trying to do a mirror deal with Matra which is today stalled.

for two new ventures in satellites and missiles. The aim of the latter is eventually to involve BAe and Matra. But cynics predict that it is unlikely to be BAe that is in the driving seat. One obvious benefit for US arms companies as they try to navigate the uncertainties of the post-cold war era is that they can rely on a uniform defence policy. Even against a background

lion jobs have been shed in the defence sector since 1987 and the US Labour Department predicts the disappearance of another 700,000 by 1999. Future defence budgets are expected to support perhaps three of the seven existing missile manufacturers, two of the five military aircraft manufacturers, two or three of the five military satellite produc-

business altogether, those assets are picked by firms which are prepared to work only in defence. Boeing, for example, is having to think long and hard whether to stick to its marginal defence business or get out of arms altogether. Companies in a similar position include General Electric, CTE, IIT and Texas Instruments.

One that has made up its mind is Westinghouse. Having bought the television network CBS and decided that its future lay in media, Westinghouse sold its defence electronics business to Northrop Grumman earlier this month for \$8 billion. There remains a raft of defence contractors up for grabs to their bigger brethren, including Fairchild, Honeywell and Thales.

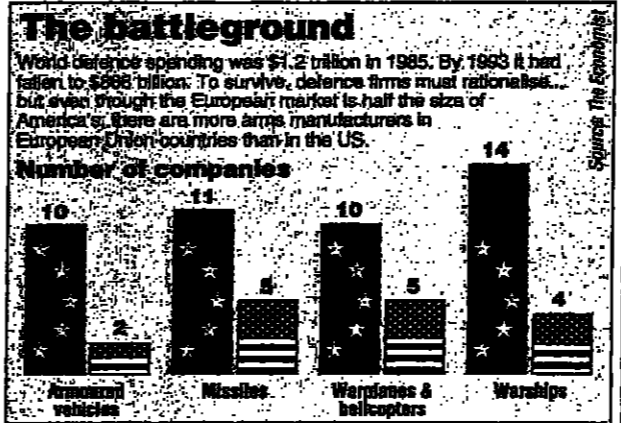
"You could almost go to Lockheed Martin and outfit your whole country" induced by the massive layoffs in the many defence companies located there. Nationally, the roster of defence suppliers, large and small, has declined by some 75 per cent from 130,000 to 30,000 in the past 10 years. More than 1 mil-

## 'You could almost go to Lockheed Martin and outfit your whole country'

ers and two of the five rocket motor companies. Beginning to emerge from the consolidation process is what may be described as full-service or diversified defence companies. As companies which used to dabble in defence get out of

able, units to retain an entrepreneurial edge. But speculation is rampant that McDonnell will enter a deal with Boeing. A complete merger is unlikely, but the two could combine their defence units within a separate company. Each firm plans to expand its helicopter, missile, space station and rocket businesses. McDonnell has looked at buying the Sikorski helicopter company, a unit of United Technologies. Boeing has eyed Textron's Bell Helicopter company.

Many believe that McDonnell will be the next defence company to make a large deal. After recovering from near-collapse three years ago, it is flush with cash. European companies must be worried that if they do not consolidate they will lose out to the US in Asia and the Middle East, markets crucial for keeping the production lines going.



weapons: combat aircraft, the electronic systems to run them and the weapons that arm them. "You could almost go to Lockheed Martin and outfit your whole country," said Richard Pettibone, an analyst at Forecast International Partnerships.

dent. "In parts of Europe, we may see a wall erected that will make it very difficult for non-European firms to do business in that region. That suggests US companies may need an ownership stake in firms in those countries if they want to enter those markets." Some executives have expressed concern about this drive for size. Harry Stonecipher, McDonnell Douglas president and chief executive officer, has warned that bigness will bring in its wake a loss of nimbleness. "Size has its disadvantages," he said. "A Tyrannosaurus Rex, which managed to survive its early battles with fierce predators, grew to an indestructible size and then died a slow death of starvation." He predicted that defence mega-firms would one day choose to split themselves into smaller, more manage-

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## Where big isn't best

Lisa Buckingham  
LISTEN to Sir Rocco Forte and his hotel group's defence team and you could get the impression they were the first to cast doubt on the concept of conglomerates. They have tried to paint Gerry Robinson's Granada group as an old-fashioned conglomerate spanning a range of businesses including broadcast television, equipment rental, computer services and catering. Conglomeracy is, however, very substantially in the eye of the beholder. Pearson, for example, describes itself as a "focused media group", yet that banner covers merchant bank Lazards, Madame Tussauds, book publishing, newspapers and television. And Sears, despite being dedicated to high street retailing, looks like a sprawling hotch-potch because of the huge array of

## Quick Crossword No. 8021

Across: 1 Offensively certain (8), 5 Fastener or piece of film (4), 9 Cuban dance (5), 10 Artist or rope (7), 11, 23 Innocent-looking villain (4,2,5,1,8), 13 Choice (6), 14 Thin piece of fabric (6), 17 Left-wing alliance (7,5), 20 Reasoning or meditation (7), 21 Mathematical drawing (5), 22 Expanse of water (4), 23 See 11.

Down: 1 Fish — cavill (4), 2 Solace (7), 3 Officers' training place (5,7), 4 Be sorry (6), 6 Liquid etc. (4-4), 8 The law of the jungle? (5,2,5), 12 Medical centre (8), 13 Person from around Calcutta (7), 14 Beauty (6), 15 Cheap wine (5), 19 Repeated sound of engine (4).

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